

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Published Quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society



WINTER 1977  
Vol. 72, No. 4

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The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Contributions and correspondence relating to articles, book reviews, and any other editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor in care of the Society. All contributions should be submitted in duplicate, double-spaced, and consistent with the form outlined in *A Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). The Maryland Historical Society disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Winter 1977

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# THE EDITOR'S PAGE

This is my last issue as editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, ending a three-year term; I have accepted a position elsewhere. Serving as editor of the *MHM* has been both a rewarding and frustrating experience. Rewarding because it's a real pleasure bringing quality articles to the attention of readers, and providing book reviews—like Richard Price's analysis of *Roots* in the Summer 1977 issue—that enable readers to appreciate further the strengths and weaknesses of current books. Attempting to judge which articles should be published, and trying to improve them with judicious editing, is the most challenging part of the job. Yet these are the tasks that bring the most frustration, for they require a great deal of time. Most periodicals like the *MHM* have a full-time editor with secretarial, copy-editing, and proof-reading assistance. But the Society hasn't been able to provide such help, and consequently the editor—a full-time professor at a local university—has had to squeeze out of an otherwise busy schedule of teaching, reading, and writing the time necessary to shepherd articles into print. No one appreciates better than the editor how much the *MHM* could be enhanced if he had more time to spend on improving writing styles, working on design and layout, and actively soliciting more articles. But the editor has to strike a compromise between his own scholarly output and the *MHM*, and neither is as good as it might be under better circumstances. As anyone who has actually read the *MHM* over the past three years can tell, every effort has been made to include a wide variety of articles. It has been the editor's judgment—and I think this accurately reflected the opinion of the publication committee—that since the *MHM* is sent to all members, it should try to have articles that cover the broadest spectrum of Maryland history and culture. There has been no quota of articles by chronological period, or topic, or authorship. Except for two topical issues in 1976, each issue has tried to present a broad range of articles. Obviously no one interest group has been completely pleased; some academics feel there is no place for unfootnoted, "popular" articles in a state journal; some lay readers think footnoted articles are the bane of history and should be confined to university seminars; others imply the *MHM* should primarily publish genealogy. Yet the controversy reflects our readership. The *MHM* is the medium for publishing research in Maryland history, but its readership far transcends the several hundred academic specialists. It thus must try to publish the most essential articles, both scholarly and popular. I think the *MHM* is the better for publishing different kinds of history. On a more personal note, I deeply appreciate all those at the Society and Waverly Press who have helped me in a multitude of ways and all those people who submitted articles and reviews, served as referees of articles, answered queries, offered suggestions. At its best, editing is a joint endeavor. Despite the frustrations, editing the *MHM* has been a marvelous educational experience that helped me grow professionally as an editor, historian, and teacher. Thanks for the opportunity.

JOHN B. BOLES





## MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF MARYLAND HISTORY

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### Annual Report 1976-1977 the Maryland Historical Society

#### INTRODUCTION:

The past year, 1976-77, was one of great achievement for the Museum and Library of Maryland History: The Maryland Historical Society. Important publications were issued, major exhibits mounted, significant acquisitions made. Society items were loaned to exhibitions around the world, while thousands viewed our treasures in our own Gallery. The Society played a key role in Maryland's celebration of the nation's bicentennial, proving again what a force it can be in the region's cultural life. And as always, the knowledge and enthusiasm of dozens of volunteers gave a special zest to Society activities. Highly important advances were made in the Society's fundraising efforts, though still great needs face us in the future. To meet its monetary and curatorial challenges the Society has expanded its dedicated and skilled staff. No institution can be stronger than its supporting staff, and the Society has sought to provide its professionals with the opportunity for personal growth as well as freedom to initiate Society programs. The long list of books, exhibitions, tour previews, and such things as an expanded Museum Shop suggests the wisdom of such administration. Sound finances, notable collections, innovative management, a superb staff—the result is the kind of creative year 1976-1977 proved to be. The following report highlights the activities of the past, and points the way to the achievements of the future.



Commodore John D. Danels  
by Robert Street, 1822

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Dr. Morgan W. Pritchett .....	<i>Education</i>	(1980)
Truman T. Semans .....	<i>Finance</i>	(1979)
William V. Elder, III .....	<i>Gallery</i>	(1978)
A. Russell Slagle .....	<i>Genealogy &amp; Heraldry</i>	(1977)
Curtis Carroll Davis .....	<i>Library</i>	(1977)
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Walter J. Skayhan, III . . . . .	<i>Assistant Director/ Administration</i>
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*Shirley Florie . . . . .	<i>Secretarial Assistant</i>
Moirra Appler . . . . .	<i>Secretary</i>
Mabel C. Herche . . . . .	<i>Financial Manager</i>
Charmie McClendon . . . . .	<i>Accountant</i>
*Lewis A. Beck . . . . .	<i>Comptroller</i>
*Frank P. L. Somerville (Vol- unteer) . . . . .	<i>Director, Road Marker Program</i>
*Dr. John B. Boles . . . . .	<i>Editor, Maryland Historical Magazine</i>

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Romaine Stec Somerville . . . .	<i>Assistant Director/Chief Curator</i>
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*Mary R.C. Sadtler . . . . .	<i>Assistant to the Registrar</i>
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*Elizabeth Hartley Eager . . . .	<i>Research Assistant</i>
Jan Williamson . . . . .	<i>Research Assistant</i>
*Mrs. R. Riggs Griffith, IV . . .	<i>Consultant for Silver Inventory</i>
*Jennifer F. Goldsborough . . .	<i>Consultant for Silver Inventory</i>
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*John Crouch . . . . .	<i>Assistant Installationist</i>
*Ann E. Forbush . . . . .	<i>Co-Director Education Dept.</i>
*Judy Van Dyke . . . . .	<i>Co-Director Education Dept.</i>
**Dr. Ferdinand C. Chatard . .	<i>Maritime Curator</i>
Randolph W. Chalfant . . . . .	<i>Maritime Curator</i>
*Catherine A. Kaltenbach . . .	<i>Maritime Secretary</i>
*Mary J. Skayhan . . . . .	<i>Maritime Photographer</i>



Silver Coffeepot. J. Walraven,  
Baltimore, c. 1792-1814



18th Century Velvet Suit of  
Charles Carroll Barrister

### The Library

Richard J. Cox .....	Library Coordinator/Manuscripts Librarian
A. Hester Rich .....	Librarian
Mary K. Meyer .....	Genealogical Librarian
Henry J. Lattimore .....	Cataloguer
Karen E. Freeman .....	Assistant
Paula K. Murphy .....	Secretary
*William Gruhn .....	Assistant
*Mary K. Skayhan .....	Assistant
*Betty O'Meara .....	Genealogical Assistant
Cynthia Requardt .....	Assistant, Manuscripts
Drew Gruenburg .....	Assistant, Manuscripts
Kristen Torgerson .....	Assistant, Manuscripts
*Gail Malanowski .....	Assistant, Manuscripts
M. Kathleen Thomsen .....	Curator, Graphics
Lynn Wilson Cox .....	Assistant, Graphics
**Lois B. McCauley .....	Curator, Graphics
Donna L. Brodsky .....	Assistant, Graphics
*Patricia A. Behles .....	Assistant, Graphics
*Edward G. Whitman .....	Photographer, Graphics
*Thomas S. Wedge .....	Assistant, Graphics
*Betty McK. Key .....	Director, Oral History
*Jean Porter .....	Transcriber, Oral History
*Jean Herbert .....	Transcriber, Oral History

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Davie Harrell .....	Manager, Business Office
Janet Waddy .....	Assistant Manager
Daun Marshall .....	Manager, Museum shop
Miriam Graff .....	Telephonist
*Evelyn McComb .....	Telephonist
*Albert C. Harris .....	Chief, Maintenance
John Crouch .....	Assistant
Willie F. Brown .....	Janitor
Marshall Greenway .....	Janitor
Hazel McClinton .....	Housekeeper
*Norman Forbush .....	Assistant
*Raymond White .....	Gardener
*John Englar, Jr. ....	Chief Guard
*Richard Arnold .....	Guard
*John P. Carson .....	Guard
**Nicholas J. Dunne .....	Guard
*Joseph Lentz .....	Guard
*Kathy Endries .....	Guard
*J. Clark McComb .....	Guard
*Adolph J. Schneider .....	Guard

### Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe

Dr. Edward C. Carter, II .....	Editor-in-Chief
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Angeline Polites .....	<i>Associate Editor</i>
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*Dr. Thomas E. Jeffrey .....	<i>Microfiche Editor</i>
*Dr. Lee W. Formwalt .....	<i>Editorial Assistant</i>
*Dr. Darwin H. Stapleton ....	<i>Assistant Editor for Engineer- ing and Technology</i>
*Suzanne Moore .....	<i>Research Assistant</i>

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\* Part time

\*\* Retired

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### *Volunteers*

#### *Library:*

Susanne Elsasser, Lillian DiDimenico, Dr. Sumner C. Powell, Lois B. McCauley, Thomas M. McLaughlin, Mary Jo Skayhan, Dr. Ferdinand C. Chatard, Lester S. Levy, Edgar G. Heyl, Charles L. Wagandt, 2d, Chadwick K. Aiau, Mrs. William S. Clark, Mrs. Grafflin Cook, Robert W. Barnes, Eliza C. Funk, Ellen Hynes, Mrs. Henry A. Naylor, Jr., Margaret Neal, Ella Rowe, George B. Wilson, Mrs. G. Maxwell Armor, Jr., Mary Rita Hall, Barbara Michael, W. Carl Lohmeyer, and Helen M. Stackhouse, Mrs. Bryden B. Hyde, Dr. and Mrs. John B. Boles, Kirsten Schlenger.

#### *Gallery:*

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#### *Education Department volunteer tour guides:*

Ms. Walter G. Adolph, Mrs. James Cantler, Mrs. Howard Casey, III, Mrs. James Cavanaugh, Mrs. Bryden B. Hyde, Mrs. Robert Jeffs, Mrs. Roy Kinard, Mrs. Francis Marbury, Mrs. Thomas Martel, Mrs. James Morrison, Ms. Martha O'Donnell, Mrs. John Saunders, Mrs. William Somerville, Jr., Mrs. Guntis Stefenhagens, Mrs. Charles Stieff, Mrs. Gideon Stieff, Mrs. Rodney Stieff, and Mrs. Joseph Tubman.



Robert Coles and Ronald Grow as T Jefferson and interviewer in "An Evening Jefferson".

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Members of the Board of Trustees, Council, and the Society. It is a pleasure to give you a brief accounting of the activities of your Society for the past year. Although the Society's fiscal year extends from July 1, 1976, to June 30, 1977, some of the information included in this overall report actually covers the calendar year 1976.

The Board of Trustees has been augmented and we now have forty-one members from nine counties taking an active part in the organization and direction of the Society. Our goal is to have at least one Trustee from each of the twenty-three counties. County executives and city and state officials have been made honorary members and all of these officials are receiving our periodical *News & Notes*.

Standing committees have met on appropriate occasions and committee chairpersons and council officers have all been very much involved in the success of their designated responsibilities.

The work of the staff directed by Bill Filby, Romaine Somerville, and Walter Skayhan far exceeded the bounds of duty. The Society is fortunate to have such devotion.

Our publications have been under review by the Publications Committee and a subcommittee chaired by Rowland Slingluff. We feel the membership will be pleased at the prospect of continuing to receive a scholarly *Maryland Historical Magazine* four times a year and the house organ *News & Notes* six times a year, plus a new publication on genealogy twice a year.

The Society has been the recipient of very valuable "gifts in kind" such as the Grace Turnbull property and others too numerous to list here. Our sincere appreciation is extended to the generous donors.

We have experienced one of the busiest periods on record—the celebration of the nation's bicentennial. The Society played its full part, combining with other institutions to produce a very fine joint exhibition, and publishing a unified catalogue, *Maryland Heritage*. During the year, it has been our aim to bring the Society and its workings to the notice of more people and to all regions of the state, particularly the neighboring counties. To this end and to portray our functions more accurately, the logo MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF MARYLAND HISTORY: THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY is now in use. In this way we believe we will be better recognized for the large part we play in the history and culture of Maryland. The masthead which you see in this Annual Report will gradually be introduced into all aspects of the Society.

For some years now, we have received grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Arts. The state has supported us with grants to perform many services. With special pleasure I report that for the first time in its history the Society has received a grant from the City of Baltimore. We have also paid visits to the county executives and superintendents of schools in surrounding counties and have communicated with all other Maryland counties, increasing their awareness of how much the Museum and Library of Maryland History contributes to the culture of their region. Baltimore County immedi-



The Museum and Library Shop

ately responded with an emergency grant and has pledged considerable support for 1977-78. Harford and Howard counties have acted similarly. Other counties have great sympathy for our work and it appears we will in time gain their support.

The financial stability of the Society has been of grave concern, and a major effort has been made to balance the budget. Combined with general inflation and other items listed below, our overall expenses were about \$100,000 more than the prior year. Yet, with the keen support of all officers and staff, and contributions from many generous members and friends, a balanced budget has been achieved for the first time in a decade. New expenditures included major repairs to our buildings. We also adjusted staff salaries so that they are now reasonably equivalent to those of similar organizations. After a professional study indicated present salaries needed upgrading in certain areas, such changes were instituted with the intention of having annual reviews.

In the past two months we have added to our staff three key members who will be more than self-supporting. A manager for the new Museum Shop, Mrs. Daun Marshall, has been employed. Since the opening of the new building it has been generally felt that the Museum Shop was inadequate; by the time you read this report an exciting new shop will be in full swing. Your President and Director have spent much of their time on fundraising, but this was only a small part of the needed effort. Thus a director of development, Maureen B. Joyce, has been employed to assume much of this responsibility. We are confident this appointment will materially assist our fundraising program. We have employed

Juanita L. Schultz as full-time Director of Public Relations beginning July 1. It has been evident for some time that the Society is being left out of studies and articles where museums and libraries are concerned. Not enough citizens realize that the Society has a superb gallery and museum collection and one of the best and most extensive libraries of any historical society in the country. The appointment of a publicity director will fill the void that has existed in our public relations.

Although these new additions to our staff will increase our expenditures for 1977-78, they will produce income which will exceed the cost. We feel the future is bright and, with your continued financial support, the budget for the new year will be balanced.

*Leonard C. Crewe, Jr.*



Library Reading Room



## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

America's bicentennial celebration was the focal point for many of the Society's activities during the past year.

The Gallery had a splendid if exhausting year. Successful exhibitions attest to the devotion of staff members who worked extra hours and on weekends. Volunteers also contributed heavily and without them many activities would not have been possible. There was a surge of interest in the graphics and genealogy sections of the Library.

A joint bicentennial exhibition, entitled "Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial," was mounted in cooperation with The Walters Art Gallery, The Baltimore Museum of Art, The Maryland Academy of Sciences, and The Peale Museum. This innovative example of inter-institutional cooperation was funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. The institutions met monthly and in a spirit of complete amity planned this monumental project. An outstanding catalogue, edited by Dr. John B. Boles, was produced in conjunction with this momentous event and was published by the Maryland Historical Society. The Society's section of the catalogue, written by Richard Cox, was entitled "From Feudalism to Freedom: Maryland in the American Revolution." Our phase of the exhibit presented a well-rounded view of life in eighteenth-century Maryland. Six separate units were prepared. The key unit, "Three Maryland Households," dealt with the everyday lives of the planter, the town merchant or artisan, and indentured servants and slaves. Other units concerned religion and education in early Maryland, maritime life of the Chesapeake Bay, Maryland's military contribution to the Revolution, eighteenth-century politics, and a special section illustrating the effect of the Revolution on the decorative arts in the new republic.

"Impressions of Maryland," a major exhibition of historical lithographs, included 200 prints and was based on the Society's recently published book, *Maryland Historical Prints 1752-1889*, by Lois B. McCauley. The book was made possible by the generosity of Robert G. Merrick, who donated funds for its publication in 1972, and Mrs. Jacob France, who through her continued philanthropy aided the project in its later stages. The prints were selected from twenty private and institutional collections, the majority coming from the collection of Robert G. Merrick. His interest and enthusiasm resulted in the finest showing of historical prints ever displayed in Baltimore.

"The Pleasures of a Book," an exhibition drawn from the collections of the members of the Baltimore Bibliophiles, opened in March 1977. A catalogue by Edgar G. Heyl was made available through the kindness of Anthony Raimo, Librarian, University of Maryland, Baltimore Campus.

In addition to these major exhibitions numerous smaller exhibits based on the permanent collection were mounted.

In his report the President has mentioned the review of the Society's publications. In addition to the quarterly *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the bimonthly house organ, *News & Notes*, a new biannual publication on genealogy is planned. Funding for these publications is being sought, and already one

business firm has underwritten one number of *News & Notes*. Under the direction of Dr. John B. Boles, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* continued as one of the best scholarly magazines in the field. Dr. Boles is leaving to join the faculties of first Rice and then Tulane University, and the Society's thanks and good wishes go with him and with Nancy Boles, Assistant Editor and formerly Manuscripts Curator. It is with pleasure that I announce the appointment of Dr. Gary Browne of U.M.B.C. as the new editor, and we look forward to a continuation of the high quality of the *Magazine* under the direction of Dr. Browne.

Regular membership rolls increased for the year 1976. Including honorary members and joint membership in other historical societies, the total membership is 5,142. As part of a concerted effort to broaden the base of the Maryland Historical Society, the Membership Committee was expanded to gain greater statewide representation. The possibilities for increased membership and, therefore, increased revenue and visitation have just begun to be explored.

During the past fiscal year, 42,768 individuals visited the Museum and Library of Maryland History. Tour groups accounted for 12,745 of this number, of which approximately 80 percent were schoolchildren. The Library reported an 11 percent increase over last year in the number of researchers utilizing the facilities.

During the summer of 1976, Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., became President of the Maryland Historical Society, and has been extremely active in the reorganization of the Society.

It is with sadness and greatest appreciation for their untiring efforts that I announce the retirement of Alice Pelham Kriete, secretary to three directors of the Society, and Eugenia Calvert Holland, a member of the Gallery staff for twenty-nine years. Sandra Falls has filled Miss Kriete's position with distinction, and I confidently expect the Gallery to show fresh impetus from the advent of Stiles Tuttle Colwill to its staff.

During the past year it was necessary to make major repairs to our buildings, including a new roof and painting the exterior of the Pratt Building and extensive repairs to the roof of the Keyser Building. Although these capital improvements, new additions to the staff, and upgrading of certain positions will increase our expenditures for 1977/78, the benefits accrued in time will exceed the cost of the investments.

P. William Filby

## STAFF ACTIVITIES

It continues to be the Maryland Historical Society's philosophy that qualified and capable staff should be encouraged to use their skills in various ways to serve the community. Accordingly, the staff was active during the year, giving speeches, presenting papers, and attending conferences and exhibitions in many cities throughout the nation. In addition a number of staff members were appointed to boards of various learned and professional societies.

## PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY

*Maryland Historical Prints: 1752-1889. A selection from the Robert G. Merrick Collection, Maryland Historical Society, and Other Maryland Collections.* By Lois B. McCauley. xvi, 249pp. 338 illustrations, 32 in full color. 1975 (issued 1976).

*Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial.* Edited by John B. Boles. xiv, 253pp. Illustrated. 1976.

*William Paca: a Biography.* By Gregory A. Stiverson and Phebe R. Jacobsen. 103pp. Illustrated. 1976.

*Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown, Maryland Founded in 1758, with a Genealogical History of the Reister Family and Sketches of Allied Families.* By Lillian Bayly Marks, xv, 235pp. Charts. 1975 (issued 1976).

*Genealogical Research in Maryland: a Guide.* By Mary K. Meyer. Revised and enlarged edition. 109pp. 1976.

*Providence: Ye Lost Towne at Severn in Maryland . . . .* By James E. Moss. xxiii, 560pp. Illustrated, maps. 1976.

*Publications of the Maryland Historical Society, September 1976.* (Compiled by P.W. Filby.) (Lists over 200 publications in print and available for sale.)

*Maryland Historical Magazine.* Published quarterly. Edited by John B. Boles. vol. 71, 4 numbers, 1976. 588pp.

*News and Notes of the Maryland Historical Society.* Vol. 5, 6 numbers; vol. 6, no. 1. 1976-1977.

*The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe: The microtext edition.* 2 vols. 1976.

Large lithograph from a gouache rendering of Maryland's first warship *Defence* of 1776. By Melbourne Smith; with brochure. 1976.

The following non-Society publications were given to the Society for sale, the proceeds from which will go to the Society:

*Flags and Seals of Maryland and of the United States.* By Frederick T. Wehr, 1975. Donor: Mrs. William R. Miller in the name of the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Maryland. (200 copies)



Sheffield candlesticks. Originally owned by Col. Tench Tilghman (1744-1786)

*Owings and Allied Families: a Genealogy of Some of the Descendants of Richard Owings I of Maryland, 1685-1975.* Compiled by Addison D. and Elizabeth S. Owings. Gift of the compilers.

### STAFF PUBLICATIONS

The Society staff once again produced several high quality books and magazine articles covering a wide variety of topics. No other historical society of comparable size matched the Society's output.

Among P. William Filby's recent publications is a bibliography entitled *American and British Genealogy and Heraldry. A Selected List of Books*. xxi, 467pp., 2nd ed. 1976. The publication received notice nationally and was cited as one of the leading works in the field by *Newsweek*, the July 4, 1977, issue. Romaine Stec Somerville produced the lead story in *Antiques*, May 1976, "Furniture at the Maryland Historical Society." Equally significant are a number of contributions from Richard J. Cox, including "From Feudalism to Freedom: Maryland in the American Revolution," *Maryland Heritage*, 1976. Among Dr. John B. Boles's publications is a volume in the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf, *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky*. ix, 152pp., 1976.

### LECTURES

*Monday, September 20, 1976:* Dawn Thomas, "The Green Spring Valley—its History and its Heritage."

*Sunday, October 10, 1976,* William Thomas & Sarah Grover Norris Lecture: W. R. Dalzell, "A Nest of Phizmongers: A Survey of Art & Craft of Portrait Painting in England in the 18th Century."

*Monday, November 15, 1976,* William Thomas & Sarah Grover Norris Lecture: Lester S. Levy, "A Centennial Songfest."

*Tuesday, November 16, 1976:* Clarence M. Mitchell, Dr. Pearl C. Brackett, and Leon Sachs participated in a colloquium at the opening of the McKeldin-Jackson Exhibition.

*Monday, December 6, 1976:* Jean Butler, "Designing a Nation's Capitol."

*Monday, January 10, 1977:* Charles L. Wagandt, 2d, "Oella: A Struggle for Survival."

*Sunday, January 16, 1977:* Gilbert Sandler, "The Years Between—Baltimore from the 1920s Through Today—Nostalgia as History." A joint meeting of the Maryland Historical Society and the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland.

*Monday, February 14, 1977:* Norman Rukert, "A History of Fell's Point."

*Monday, February 28, 1977:* Edward G. Howard Memorial Lecture: Leona Rostenberg and Madeleine B. Stern, "Uncommon Collectibles."



Reception following an evening lecture.

Monday, March 21, 1977: Bernard Christian Steiner Lecture: Dr. Steven Muller, "Johns Hopkins—Past and Future."

Monday, April 18, 1977: James Lewis, "Yet Do I Marvel." (Contemporary Black Artists in the Republic of South Africa)

Monday, May 16, 1977: Burt Kummerow, "The Search for the Chesapeake Planter."

### NEW ACCESSIONS

The Society continues to rely on the generosity of members and friends to develop its collections.

Outstanding gifts improved the Library's collections this year as they have for the previous 131 years. Several rare pamphlets were added including the Reverend Thomas Bray's *The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation. Held at Annapolis in Maryland, May 23, 24, 25. Anno 1700* and *A Circular Letter to the Clergy of Maryland, Subsequent to the Late Visitation* (n.p., 1700), both presented by Douglas H. Gordon. Not as directly related to Maryland history but nonetheless a significant acquisition was a copy of Phillis Wheatley's (the black poetess) only published book, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London, 1773), given by Dr. and Mrs. A. McGehee Harvey. A number of especially significant manuscript collections have been received in the past year, only a few of which can be mentioned here. From Mrs. Hazel C. Skirven the Society obtained over 2,300 pieces of printed and manuscript compositions of Franz Carl Bornschein (1879–1948), a graduate and longtime faculty member of the Peabody Conservatory of Music. The widow of Emory N. Niles (1892–1976), Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, generously donated a sizeable collection of his papers. Dr. and Mrs. R. Carmichael Tilghman donated a valuable collection of manuscripts related to William Carmichael (d. 1795), the early American diplomat, including letters from Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Gouverneur Morris, and George Washington. The largest collection received this year was the papers of George L. Radcliffe (1877–1974), United States Senator from Maryland from 1935 to 1947 and President of the Maryland Historical Society from 1938 to 1965; this collection was given by his son George M. Radcliffe. The Prints and Photographs Division also received a number of important items. These included 200 prints and photographs of Maryland views given by Robert G. Merrick; 150 Baltimore theater programs and printed ephemera, 1940s–70s, from Dr. George Bredan Dowell; 293 lantern slides, photographs, and negatives of the works of R. McGill Mackall from Mr. Mackall; and 37 photographs, hand-colored, of the Homeland estate, 1891, 1903, and 1920 from Dr. and Mrs. Milton C. Lang. Overall, since the beginning of 1976, the Library has received 869 lots of gifts.

Between January 1, 1976, and June 30, 1977, a total of 127 donors gave over 1,000 items to the Museum collections. The gifts included paintings, sculpture, furniture, glass, ceramics, toys,

military items, costumes, rugs and lighting fixtures—reflecting the varied scope of the material exhibited at the Maryland Historical Society. A list of representative examples follows:

An early nineteenth century portrait of *Mrs. Thomas Everette* [Rebecca Myring, 1787–1833] and *Her Five Children*, bequeathed by M. Augusta Clarke, is of particular import to American art scholars. The 1831 will of Mrs. Everette provides the first contemporary documentation attributing a specific painting to the black artist, Joshua Johnston.

A portrait of the *Honorable Benedict Calvert* (1724–88) of Annapolis and “Mt. Airy” in Prince George’s County—a member of the Governor’s Council, Collector of the Port of Patuxent, and Judge and Register of the Land Office—was given to the Society by the direct descendants of the subject, George Davis Calvert, Sr., and his nephew, Richard Creagh Mackubin Calvert, III. The three-quarter-length portrait by John Wollaston, circa 1755, had been on deposit at the Society since 1954.

A contribution from the Stiles E. Tuttle Memorial Trust enabled the Society to purchase the portrait of *Commodore John Daniel Danels*, painted by Robert Street in 1822. Danels, a wealthy Baltimore soldier of fortune, gained international fame through his support of the revolutions in South America, providing supplies, the use of his many ships, and above all, “his credit as a rich man.”

R. McGill Mackall, senior member of the Gallery Committee, gave the Society 159 items in 1976 and 1977. Included in this gift were an important eighteenth century portrait inscribed on the reverse of the canvas: *Ann Calvert AE 6/John Hesselius Pinx Maryland/1761*; a self-portrait executed in 1936; forty-two portrait studies of eminent Marylanders and numerous mural studies. Mr. Mackall also gave a collection of maritime books, etchings, and other artifacts for the maritime collection. A selection of forty-five items from the gift of Mr. Mackall were mounted as an exhibition. A 12-page catalogue included a biography of Mr. Mackall by Eugenia Calvert Holland, Gallery Curator.

A large portrait painted in Baltimore in 1917 by Erik G. Haupt, of *Mrs. Columbus O'Donnell Lee and Her Daughters*, was the gift of Mrs. James Flynn Turner.

From the Estate of Virginia Bowie Schoenfeld, the Society received several portraits including one of *Ruth Berkley* by Alfred Jacob Miller.

Harry Gladding presented a selection of portraits from the University Club including likenesses of *Joseph Packard*, *Powhatan Clark*, *Richard M. Johnston*, and *Alfred J. Shriver*, all by Thomas Cromwell Corner.

A large collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century



*Columbus O'Donnell Lee and Her Daughters*, by Erik G. Haupt, 1917.

furniture was received from Stanley Kellert and another collection through the bequest of Marie Dixon Cullen. Twenty-eight of these items were lent to the recently restored Ballestone Mansion in Baltimore County.

Seventeen pieces of doll clothing and a doll trunk dating from 1860 were received from the Estate of Rebecca E. Warfield.

Mrs. F. H. Henninghausen added to the textile collection a blue and white striped cotton seersucker man's coat from about 1820, which originally belonged to Col. Alexander Smith, the brother of Gen. Samuel Smith. A gold silk Empire-style trousseau dress was given by Mrs. Patricia K. Lauber. The dress is probably French and dates between 1810 and 1820.

A four-piece seed pearl parure, originally owned by Letitia Breckenridge Gamble (1836-67), was given by Mrs. Gamble Latrobe, Jr.

Mrs. Van Santwood Merle-Smith and Mrs. Thomas Weaver gave, in memory of their father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Law Rogers Smith, an extremely important Baltimore sofa of about 1800 which was used at "Druid Hill," the Rogers Family Estate.

The Baltimore Gas and Electric Company designed and donated an exhibition of sixteen units which features the outstanding developments in the "History of Energy."

The Radcliffe Maritime Museum received several important acquisitions in the last year and a half. Mrs. Mary L. McKenna donated an extensive collection of Merchant and Miners business papers and two of their house flags. Mrs. Edwin J. Bernet gave a very fine rigged model of a Spanish carrack made by Enoch Pratt Hyde. The maritime library was embellished by Mrs. E. Ridgely Simpson's donation of a large collection of rare naval books and John C. Earle's gift of extensive runs of important maritime periodicals and other interesting books and artifacts. William C. Steuart also donated a fine collection of books and a steamboat model.

### LOANS

During the Bicentennial year over 400 items from the Society's distinguished collections of eighteenth and nineteenth-century artifacts were lent for exhibition in major institutions in America and Europe. Among the most publicized of these exhibitions were: "The Eye of Thomas Jefferson" at the National Gallery of Art of Washington; "1776" at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, England; "Black American Artists: 1750-1950" sponsored by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and exhibited in Atlanta, Detroit, and Brooklyn; "Remember the Ladies" sponsored by the Pilgrim Society and exhibited at Plymouth, Atlanta,



A diorama from the "History of Energy" Exhibit.



Washington, Chicago, Austin, and New York City; "Two Hundred Years of American Painting" sponsored by the United States Information Agency and exhibited in Bonn, Belgrade, Rome, Warsaw, and Baltimore; "The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976" at the University of California Art Museum; "Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914" at the National Portrait Gallery; "Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art" at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; and "From Foreign Shores: Three Centuries of Art by Foreign Born American Masters" at the Milwaukee Art Center.

The Library lent manuscripts and prints for exhibitions at the Pratt Graphics Center in New York, Baltimore Museum of Art, Maryland Academy of Sciences, Smithsonian Institution, Georgetown University Library, Peale Museum, Historic Annapolis, Inc., Maryland Hall of Records, Fort Meade, Fire Museum of Maryland, Jewish Community Center of Baltimore, New Orleans Museum of Art, Mayor's Advisory Committee on Art and Culture (Baltimore City), American Institute of Architects Foundation, University Art Museum at the University of California, City Hall Museum and Cultural Center in Salisbury, Maryland, and the Equitable Trust Company. Many Library items were also exhibited at the Society.

The Society made a special effort to aid local groups by lending them articles for exhibitions and displays. A major loan of household furnishings went to Ballestone Manor; a silver pitcher, presented to High Constable Benjamin Herring in 1853, was lent to the Baltimore City Police Department; furniture for an 1840 period room was loaned to the B & O Museum in Baltimore City; a nineteenth-century coachman's coat from the Ridgely family went to Hampton Historical Site; and prints of views of Baltimore were loaned to the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Art and Culture for use at the Mayor's Bicentennial Ball.

Requests for the loan of material from the collections of the Maryland Historical Society continue to come in and major loans are now being processed for the American Embassy in Paris, an exhibition on Charles Bird King at the National Collection of Fine Arts, and a traveling exhibition entitled "Dolley and the Great Little Madison."

## GRANTS

This year, as in the past, grants were received from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the State of Maryland. We are pleased to announce that for the first time we received grants from Baltimore City and Baltimore County, and starting 1977-1978 we will receive gifts from Harford and Howard counties. Since the collections and programs of the Museum and Library of Maryland History serve people all over the state, we are especially gratified that we are beginning to receive broader support.



Of special note during the year was a three-year \$90,000 matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The grant, awarded for use by the Library, has a threefold purpose: (1) to replace staff released during the Society's 1975 cutback, (2) to increase the amount of funds available for restoration and conservation work, and (3) to act as a challenge to raise additional funds to put the Library on a solid financial base. Beginning July 1, 1977, five of the twelve full-time Library staff will be paid from these funds. The grant has been a great help in enabling the Library to cope with ever increasing numbers of researchers and to make substantial headway with cataloguing projects. Local fundraising to match this grant has continued at a steady pace. Sizeable donations from the William G. Baker Foundation, Dr. & Mrs. A. McGehee Harvey, and the Maryland Genealogical Society (among others) have aided this process significantly. Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. funded the book on *Paca* and the proceeds are being used to support the N.E.H. Fund, as is *Reister's Desire* by Lillian Bayly Marks. To both of these benefactors the Library will be everlastingly grateful.

Special grants from the National Endowment for the Arts made possible special Museum projects in conservation and cataloguing in addition to the major Bicentennial exhibition. Under an N.E.A. grant, with additional aid from the American Institute of Architects and the Cafritz Foundation, conservation treatment was completed on a folio of fifty-six architectural drawings from the 1792 competition for designs for the United States Capitol and the President's House. This group of drawings included works by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel McIntire, and James Hoban. John H. B. Latrobe, an early officer of the Society and son of the architect Benjamin H. Latrobe, gave the drawings to the Society in 1864.

Since the completion of the conservation efforts, other institutions have expressed a desire to borrow and exhibit the documents. It is estimated that, during the summer of 1976 alone, 5 million people viewed the drawings while on exhibition in the United States Capitol. They were exhibited at the Society as the final event of the bicentennial year.

Fourteen eighteenth and nineteenth-century American paintings needed for bicentennial exhibitions received conservation treatment during this past year. This group included three c-1800 views of Baltimore, by Francis Guy; a pair of portraits of Mr. and Mrs. John Hanson, painted in 1760 by John Hesselius; and portraits of the parents of James Madison, by Charles Peale Polk.

Another grant financed the conservation of seven important drawings from the Maryland Historical Society collection including a pastel portrait of Charles Carroll of Carrollton by St. Memin, and drawings of the United States Capitol, the Baltimore Exchange, and the Baltimore Roman Catholic Cathedral, all by Benjamin H. Latrobe.

In the summer of 1976 an exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and furniture which had undergone conservation treatment was



U.S. Capitol, East Front Perspective  
jamin Henry Latrobe, 1810

mounted with the volunteer help of Stiles T. Colwill. Photographs of pieces before and during the conservation process, along with technical explanations, gave the public an insight into "behind the scenes" work on collections.

As a result of the generosity of the National Endowment for the Arts, great strides have also been made in cataloguing items in the Museum collection. Over 2,500 pieces of silver were inventoried. Each piece was photographed and all available information entered on new catalogue cards. In addition, a list of Maryland silver in the Society's collection was prepared and printed. A similar inventory of the more than 5,000 pieces in the textile and costume collection is now in process. These inventories are part of a major long-term project which started with the cataloguing of the portrait collection two years ago and will continue next year with the cataloguing of the furniture collection.

A grant from the State of Maryland made possible several important services including sponsorship of ethnic heritage programs, continued installation of historical road markers across the state, support for the Society's Education Program, and the processing of historical documents in the Manuscripts Department.

During the past year the Society received a special grant of \$10,000 from the City of Baltimore which will make possible the inauguration of new programs, principally with children and senior citizens from the city. Further, the city government has made possible additional staff for the Society in all departments through the special Comprehensive Employment Training Act.

Baltimore County contributed to the Society's funds during the past year and has pledged considerable support for 1977-78. Harford and Howard counties have acted similarly. Other counties have shown great interest in our work, and we hope that in time we will gain their support, for the Society is a statewide institution.

### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

A hardworking corps of eighteen volunteer guides assisted Co-Directors Judy Van Dyke and Ann Forbush in giving a total of 584 guided tours to 10,408 children and 2,337 adults during the past year. As part of an ongoing training program, Education Department guides attended a workshop at the Society, "Training in Methods and Techniques," given by David Estabrook from the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Smithsonian Institution. Also, the guides attended lectures given by our curatorial staff on specific facets of the Society's collections: paintings, furniture, silver, military collections, and costumes. Mrs. Gideon Stieff, Sr., spoke on Maryland's Four Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Begun last fall as a new Education Department project, "Preview Packets" are now mailed to each class in grades three

through six which makes a tour reservation. Prepared by the Education Department Directors with assistance from other Society staff, these "warmup" materials introduce some of the exhibits the children will see at the Museum. The packet contains six cutout or coloring projects with texts to be discussed in the classroom.

For our guides, part of the stimulation of the tour program comes from the wide variety of groups who visit the Museum: thousands of school children ranging from kindergarten through twelfth grades; college students; adults; senior citizens (some in wheelchairs)—and in the summer and at Christmas time, busloads of children and adults from recreation centers who take day-tours of Baltimore under the auspices of the Mayor's Office of Special Projects.

The Harrelson Transportation Company generously furnished bus service for several groups of Senior Citizens free of charge. Without this contribution, these groups would not have been able to visit our Museum.



School Tour of the Museum

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Total Guided Tours July 1, 1976, through June 30, 1977:

	public school	inde- pendent school	non-school children	adult/sr. citizen
children:	7,546	1,595	1,267	
adults:	830	245	353	909
total children:	10,408		total adults:	total tour units:
			2,337	584

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## PAPERS OF BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE

*The Microfiche Edition of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* was published by James T. White & Company on October 27, 1976. This edition represents over five years of work by the staff of the Latrobe Papers. The 315 fiche contain over 17,000 documents—all the Latrobe papers of the Maryland Historical Society, as well as copies of every Latrobe letter, report, and drawing from other repositories and individuals. The Latrobe Papers are the first collection of such papers to be placed on microfiche. The microfiche and the accompanying *Guide and Index* are, therefore, important technical and scholarly achievements. A copy of the *Microfiche Edition* was officially presented to the Maryland Historical Society by the Latrobe Papers on March 23, 1977.

The publication of the selective printed edition of Latrobe's works is well over half done. The first two volumes of Latrobe's journals will be published in November. These will be followed by the volume of Latrobe's engineering drawings which is now at

Yale University Press, and will be published in Spring 1978. The volume of architectural drawings, and the third volume of Latrobe's journals will be published soon after. Work will begin this September on the final volumes of the printed edition: *Latrobe's View of America*, a portfolio book of drawings and watercolors, and four volumes of letterbooks.

### ORAL HISTORY

Mrs. Betty Key oversaw the expansion of the oral history collections to 398 tapes and 2,500 pages of transcript. Especially important in this regard was the McKeldin-Jackson project. During the year, staff members and volunteers collected more than eighty taped interviews from persons familiar with the civil rights activities of Lillie M. Jackson and Theodore R. McKeldin. Lillie M. Jackson was a black woman and a leader of her people. Theodore R. McKeldin was a white man, twice mayor of Baltimore and twice governor of Maryland. Separately and together they advanced the cause of human rights. Each benefited from the other's role, for progress required combined citizen support and public action.

These oral history interviews are a valuable resource for present and future generations of students and scholars. In the fall of 1976 a colloquium was held culminating the year's work (see the list of Society lectures, above). The colloquium was taped and is available to interested persons and groups. In conjunction with this event, Mrs. E. Hartley Eager, Guest Curator, prepared an exhibition on the civil rights movement in Maryland, focusing on Jackson and McKeldin. In addition, the Department of Education of the City of Baltimore is preparing a film based on materials gathered by the project.

### SUNDAY ETHNIC PROGRAMS

Curtailement of state funds has unfortunately put a damper on our once popular and active Sunday series. Two years ago we held Ethnic Programs once a month, September through May, and on several occasions entertained over 900 persons at these events. This year, as a result of decreased funding, we held only three Ethnic Programs: a Finnish Cultural Program featuring Toini Heikkinen, pianist, on Sunday, December 6, 1976; the Annual Chinese New Year Celebration held Sunday, February 13, 1977, with over 1,000 in attendance; and a Greek Cultural Program held Sunday, March 20, 1977, featuring lectures by Dr. Jean Scarpaci and Dr. Dimitri Monos.

We have received the state grant for this project for fiscal year 1977-78, and again it is less than the amount of the original grant. However, every effort will be made to present as interesting a program as possible within the existing budget.

## ROADSIDE HISTORICAL MARKER PROJECT

During 1976-77 Frank P.L. Somerville, working as a volunteer, personally handled all inquiries and correspondence pertaining to the roadside historical markers erected under the shared supervision of the Maryland Historical Society and the State Highway Administration. Installations initiated or assisted by Mr. Somerville in 1975, 1976, and 1977 now total over 100, at an approximate cost of \$40,000. About \$30,000 of this sum came from private donations, and \$6,000 was contributed by the Maryland Bicentennial Commission. Work continues on a proposed guidebook based on the continuing survey of approximately 600 sites throughout the state.

Mr. Somerville has worked diligently and expertly on the road marker program and has made considerable progress in the effort to identify, for the public, places of historical significance in Maryland. We are grateful for his unceasing service to the Society and to the citizens of Maryland.



Unveiling the road marker at S Island.

## MARYLAND DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

The Maryland Historical Society is also privileged to house the Maryland Diocesan Archives, under the capable supervision of R. Garner Ranney, Historiographer and Archivist. The Archives received 630 items increasing its collection to over 52,000 manuscripts and imprints. The Archives have a remarkably complete index, and complement the Society's other manuscript and book holdings. Mr. Ranney handled a correspondence comprising 414 letters and accommodated 136 visits by researchers.

## MEMORIAL FUNDS

During 1976-77 the following Memorial Funds were established:

*C. William Schneidereith, Sr.* For the N.E.H. Library Fund.

*Frederick L. Wehr.* For the Maritime Museum.

*Nivea Painter.* For the N.E.H. Library Fund.

*Roberta Smith Hopkins.* For General Funds.

*Theodore R. Dankmeyer.* For General Funds.

*Katherine Dudley Thomas.* For General Funds.

*Esther T. Stewart.* To support further research in the activities in Maryland of John T. Stewart and Harriet Tubman.

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A view of the lower Jones Falls by Francis Guy, c. 1804.

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*January - June 1976*

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#### INCOME

Dues .....	\$47,240	
Contributions and grants .....	236,950	(1)
Legacies and trusts .....	27,868	
Investment income .....	164,929	
Sales and service fees .....	42,710	
Other income .....	45,901	
	<u>565,598</u>	

#### EXPENSES

Museums and gallery .....	60,917	
Library and manuscripts .....	70,111	
Magazine and history notes .....	38,190	
Building operations .....	101,157	
Administrative and general .....	242,032	(2)
Educational services and special programs .....	31,117	
Cost of merchandise sold .....	9,873	
Contributions to Special Funds projects .....	10,645	
	<u>564,042</u>	

Excess of income over expenses

from operations ..... \$ 1,556

(1) Includes grants from city, county, state and federal governments totaling \$84,905.

(2) Includes administrative and general services rendered to the Library, Museum, Gallery and other operating programs of the Society.

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## Funds for Specified Purposes

#### PUBLICATION FUND

Income .....	\$6,898	
Expenses .....	<u>7,020</u>	
Excess of expenses over income .....		(\$122)

#### SPECIAL FUNDS

Income .....	\$150,651	
Expenses .....	<u>161,382</u>	
Excess of expenses over income .....		(\$10,731)

#### LATROBE FUND

Income .....	\$113,096	
Expenses .....	<u>98,245</u>	
Excess of income over expenses .....		\$14,851

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Note: This condensed report of income and expenses for the General Fund and Funds for Specified Purposes has been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society. Audited statements are available upon request to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 21201.



# "Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor:" The Parliamentary Career of Sir George Calvert, 1609-24

JOHN D. KRUGLER

THE CAREER OF SIR GEORGE CALVERT IN STUART POLITICS HAS BEEN WOEFULLY neglected by American colonial historians who have been content with little or no careful examination of his pre-colonial career. This essay examines in detail one facet of that pre-colonial career, his service as a member of parliament. Although he served in three of the four parliaments James I called, emphasis is on the 1621 parliament. As a privy councillor and the only secretary of state in that parliament, Calvert had major responsibilities. Because of circumstances over which he had little or no control, he was not, however, particularly successful in securing the king's interests. An examination of his parliamentary career is of value not only for the light it sheds on Calvert, but for the insights it gives into the relationship between king and parliament under James I.<sup>1</sup>

Interpreting Calvert's activities in the 1621 parliament under the traditional "court" and "country" split should present no difficulties. This interpretation and especially one of its corollaries, namely, the decline of privy councillors in the Commons, does help in interpreting Calvert's actions. But it does not tell the whole story. To view Calvert in the context of a rising opposition in Commons misses a very important point about parliamentarians, especially those who served the king directly. Calvert, like many others, saw the necessity of balancing the interests of parliament and those of the king. His role, as he saw it, was to seek harmony. Because he was a privy councillor in Commons he served conflicting loyalties. The degree to which he could balance them was the degree to which he would be successful.

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Dr. John D. Krugler is an associate professor of history at Marquette University. He gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the Marquette University Committee on Research and the helpful criticism of Professor Athan G. Theoharis.

1. Calvert lacks a modern biography. James W. Foster was preparing one when his untimely death in 1962 ended the project. Typewritten copies of the first four chapters (James Foster Manuscripts [MS 2002]) are in the Maryland Historical Society. The most thorough treatment to date is Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Sir George Calvert: Baron of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1884), but it contains many errors and superficially covers his parliamentary career. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1932-38), 2: 276, made only passing reference to Calvert's parliamentary career. Matthew Page Andrews, although devoting attention to Calvert's pre-colonial career, barely considered his time in parliament and erroneously described Calvert as the king's "confidential adviser" (*The Founding of Maryland* [Baltimore, 1933], pp. 23, 18). David Harris Willson's *Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Minneapolis, 1940) contains a balanced assessment of Calvert but does not examine his career in any detail.

At what point George Calvert decided to seek a career in court politics is impossible to know. Born into a family which was troubled periodically for failing to conform to the state church, Calvert was reared in Yorkshire far from the center of court politics. His early education was Catholic but after his father's forced conformity in 1592 he seems to have conformed to the state religion. On order of the Yorkshire High Commission he studied with a Protestant tutor at York and then matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he studied foreign languages. Proving himself an able scholar, he became, in the words of the college's historian, "the most distinguished Trinity commoner of his time." Upon graduation in 1597 Calvert studied municipal law at Lincoln's Inn for three years. Sometime after 1601 he went on a tour of the Continent. In Paris he had the good fortune to attract the attention of Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's powerful secretary of state and the man who would dominate politics during the first nine years of James's reign.<sup>2</sup>

Calvert's entrance into court politics is an oft repeated story: Talented and ambitious young man attaches himself to a powerful older politician and begins to make his mark. Cecil, probably impressed with Calvert's command of foreign languages, his intelligence, and the manner in which he carried himself, saw him as a useful servant. Shortly after the accession of James I, Calvert returned from Paris with a packet for Cecil. By the time parliament convened in March 1604 he was serving as one of Cecil's many secretaries.<sup>3</sup>

The first parliament of James sat intermittently between March 19, 1604, and February 9, 1611. Calvert's only experience as a member of this parliament came as a direct result of Cecil's influence. In 1609 Cecil wanted as many friends of the government sitting in the House of Commons as could be managed. He wrote the mayor of Bossiney in Cornwall asking that he be allowed to name the member to be elected. The mayor, in turn, referred the letter to a Mr. Hender who for the past twenty years had controlled the election. Wishing to be relieved of his office of sheriff, Hender was willing to strike a bargain. He sent a properly sealed blank indenture and all Cecil had to do was to insert the name he wanted, in this case his secretary George Calvert.<sup>4</sup>

In this parliament Calvert seemingly left no mark. There is no evidence that

2. On Calvert's religious life see John D. Krugler, "The Heart of a Papist, and the Face of a Protestant: A Reexamination of Sir George Calvert's Conversion to Roman Catholicism," forthcoming in *Journal of Church and State*; James W. Foster, "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (December 1960): 265-74; Herbert E. D. Blakiston, *Trinity College* (London, 1898), p. 97; *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, Vol. I, *Admission from A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1799* (London, 1896), p. 127; "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty the humble petition of George Calvert your Majesty's servant" (December 3, 1614), Public Record Office (PRO), SP63/232/272. [Editor's note: on Calvert's religion see also the article by Lahey in this issue of the *MHM*.]

3. Richard Percivall to Cecil, April 19, 1603, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House*, 22 parts of date (London, 1883-), 15: 54; GC to Sir Walter Aston, June 26, 1621, British Museum, *Additional Manuscripts 36445*, f. 151; Alan G. R. Smith, "The Secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580-1612," *English Historical Review*, 83 (July 1968): 481-504.

4. William P. Courtney, *Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832* (London, 1899), pp. 322-23.

he spoke and he probably attended only infrequently due to many other duties. But Cecil's trust in Calvert grew. By 1610 he had Calvert appointed as one of the clerks of the privy council. In this capacity Calvert was frequently outside the country on diplomatic missions. He was in France on one such confidential mission when James finally dissolved parliament. Significantly he did not seek election to the "Addled Parliament" which lasted only from April to June 1614. By the time James's third parliament met Calvert had been knighted, appointed one of the secretaries of state, and elevated from clerk of the privy council to a privy councillor.<sup>5</sup>

The nature of Calvert's elevation to the secretaryship and to privy councillor is important for understanding his parliamentary career. Evidently Calvert did not seek the appointment. He claimed in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, the ambassador at the Hague and a man who did covet the office, that he had never been in competition with Carleton or anyone else for the office. When informed by the king's favorite, the increasingly powerful Marquis of Buckingham, that James wanted him to serve as secretary of state, Calvert declared his own unworthiness to serve in the office held by his late master, the powerful Earl of Salisbury. Calvert was not Buckingham's choice. Privately the favorite let it be known that the choice was the king's own. To make certain that Calvert never misunderstood, Buckingham returned a valuable jewel which Calvert had presented to him, owing that he had done nothing on his behalf. Although Calvert quickly assumed the bulk of the secretary's work, rumors persisted for some months after his appointment that he would be agreeable to resigning from office. The king chose Calvert because he was a capable and untiring worker who could be depended upon to follow orders. The newly appointed secretary would have little or no input in determining policy. His function was to execute policies formulated by the king and the favorite and in this capacity he proved himself a very able administrator. But he functioned in a system where whim and fancy often counted for more than ability.<sup>6</sup>

5. Samuel Calvert to Sir Ralph Winwood, April 6, 1605, in *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I Collected (Chiefly) from the Original Papers of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Winwood, Kt. Sometime one of the Principal Secretaries of State*. . . , 3 vols. (London, 1725), 2: 58; John More to Winwood, July 28, 1610, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleugh and Queensbury. K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montague House Whitehall*, 3 vols. (London, 1899-1926), 1: 91; Wallace Notestein, *The House of Commons, 1604-1610* (New Haven, 1971), pp. 2-3; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 223 vols. to date (London, 1742-), 1: 139-454; GC to Cecil, February 18/28, 1611, PRO SP78/57/58; Henry Clifford to Cecil, February 25-March 6, 1611, PRO SP14/61/105. James knighted Calvert and two other clerks of the council during the wedding celebration honoring Buckingham's brother (John Chamberlain to Carleton, October 11, 1617, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols. [Philadelphia, 1939], 2: 102).

6. GC to Carleton, April 10, 1619, PRO SP84/19/125; John H. Bancroft, "Carleton and Buckingham: The Quest for Office," *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson*, ed. Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis, 1970), p. 124; Chamberlain to Carleton, February 20, 1620, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 216; Sir Edward Harwood to Carleton, February 16, 1620, Thomas Locke to Carleton, April 24, 30, 1620, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, 4 vols. (London, 1858-59), 1619-1623, pp. 15, 40-41; Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), "Yorkshire," p. 202. It was not uncommon for office-seekers to deny that they sought a specific appointment. Bishop John Williams after his appointment as Lord Keeper also wrote to Carleton that he had not sought the office (*CSP, James, 1619-1623*, p. 284).

By October 1620 James was in desperate need of funds to support his peacemaking efforts on the Continent. In spite of Buckingham's objections, James decided to call parliament. The decision to summon parliament was made in light of a strong anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment. The dissatisfaction intensified with every disastrous report filtering back from the camp of James's son-in-law, the King of Bohemia, who was fleeing from a certain defeat by Catholic forces.<sup>7</sup>

As a privy councillor, it was imperative that Calvert gain a seat in parliament. Although long out of contact with his home country, he chose to seek election as one of the knights of the shire from Yorkshire. However, Calvert lacked a political base and his election was secured only through the strenuous efforts of the locally powerful Sir Thomas Wentworth. After a hotly contested campaign, the freeholders of Yorkshire on Christmas day 1620 elected Wentworth and Calvert as their representatives.<sup>8</sup>

Numerous delays prevented parliament from convening until January 30, 1621. The lower house assembled to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and then joined the Lords to hear the king's opening speech. The two houses had been called, James proclaimed, to enact the laws he thought necessary, to detail but not to attempt to remedy the grievances of the realm, and to grant much needed financial assistance. James also discussed the origins of his Palatinate policy and his attempts at mediation. On the sensitive issue of religion he took pains to assuage doubt. To facilitate the proposed marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta, the vehicle by which he hoped to secure peace in the Palatinate, James had eased the impact of the penal laws on his Catholic subjects. By the time parliament met, the relaxation was apparent to all concerned subjects and the cause of considerable unrest. Let no one, he assured his listeners, "thinke that in regard of a match [with Spain] I growe cold in Religion." He urged them to "trust to the word of a Kinge that if what I have in treatie [with Spain] do not appeare to bee for the glorie of God and the weale of this Realm, I will never give my consent to it." And should any Papist grow insolent in expectation of the match, James promised to deal with him "as is fit." Prophetically he warned parliament not to become preoccupied with grievances. But as Calvert soon found out, the suspicions aroused by the king's policies could not be smothered by mere words. As the king's secretary, Calvert would spend much of his time in defending these policies.<sup>9</sup>

7. Girolamo Lando to Doge and Senate, October 6/16, 1620, in *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*. . . ., ed. Rawdon Brown *et al.*, 38 vols. (London, 1864-1947), 1619-1621, pp. 440-41; Willson, *Privy Councillors*, pp. 147-50; Robert Zaller, "'Interest of State': James I and the Palatinate," *Albion*, 6 (Summer 1974): 144-50. A number of viciously anti-Spanish pamphlets appeared and Calvert attempted to track down the authors (GC to Buckingham, November 28, 1620, *The Fortescue Papers: Consisting Chiefly of Letters Relating to State Affairs*. . . ., ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Westminster, 1871), p. 143).

8. "The Calvert Family and Court Politics: A Study in Catholic Survival in Early Seventeenth Century England," and "Court and Country Under James I: The Careers of Sir George Calvert and Sir Thomas Wentworth," unpublished papers in author's possession.

9. *Commons Debates 1621*, (hereafter CD) ed. Wallace Notestein, Francis Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson, 7 vols. (New Haven, 1935), 2: 2-13; 4: 4; 5: 424-29; Katherine S. Van Eerde, "The Spanish Match Through an English Protestant's Eyes," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32 (November 1968): 59-75.

Having been admonished not to belabor religious matters, the Commons, in the words of John Chamberlain, "began rightly with religion." The excessive concern shown over religion during this parliament amply underscored the anxiety, fear, and hostility of Englishmen toward the Spanish match. On the defensive, the government was ill prepared to handle the situation. The arthritic king did not always concern himself with the day-to-day matters of parliament; Buckingham aroused himself only when his interests were affected directly; and the councillors, lacking firm leadership, failed to maintain a common ground with the result that they sometimes worked at cross-purposes. To Calvert, as the king's secretary, usually fell the unenviable tasks of defending the king's unpopular religious and foreign policies, of defending the king's prerogative, and of keeping the House at its appointed task. In some respects Calvert became as unpopular as the policies he defended.

Before examining Calvert's effectiveness in detail, it is necessary to consider certain weaknesses which made his task more difficult. For all of his many personal strengths, Calvert's career aptly confirms the trend so ably described by Wallace Notestein and David Harris Willson, the declining influence of privy councillors in the Commons. He served at a time when councillors were assuming a secondary role. Calvert had neither the wealth nor the independent political base to assume the role traditionally played by privy councillors in the House. Indeed, during the early years of his career he was hard pressed for money and it was not until the rewards of office and judicious investments in overseas enterprises such as the East India Company paid off, that his financial well-being was assured. He was dependent on his governmental offices for his livelihood and, as he acknowledged in 1619, on the king's "infinite favor towards me in chusing me amongst so many of farre greater meritt to me the subject of his power and of his goodnesse, by raysing me to that which I am." His difficulties then in part related to the very reasons why he had been selected.<sup>10</sup>

The king, but especially Buckingham, did not want strong-minded independent councillors. Calvert represented exactly the type of individual they wanted in positions of responsibility. He took his duties seriously and was a diligent and responsible servant who patiently awaited his instructions. Lacking directions he rarely assumed responsibility on his own, as witnessed by his remarks to Sir Francis Nethersole. "All that I can say," he lamented when the king's frequent absences from London made it impossible to communicate urgent matters to English diplomats overseas, is that "until I heare from the King who is now at Woodstock, that we have the comfort of a good conscience to have discharged our duty and so leave it. I hope I shall heare from his Majesty

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10. Chamberlain to Carleton, February 10, 1621, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 341; Wallace Notestein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons* (London, 1924), pp. 27-29; Willson, *Privy Councillors*, pp. 147-50; Robert Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 51; Wentworth to GC, August 14, 1624, in *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*. . . ., ed. William Knowler, 2 vols. (London, 1739), 1: 23; GC to Buckingham, November 29, 1619, *Fortescue Papers*, p. 98. In July 1607 Cousin Samuel Calvert wanted to borrow 4 or 5 pounds but could not after George's recent purchase of a house (Easthamstead Parks, Berks, *Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire* [hereafter *Trumbull MSS*], 14: 15).

shortly. . . .” And to William Trumbull he confided that “you must not think it strange, that my Letters come slowly” for the king is “in his progresses farre distant from this place” (London) and confessed he must “of necessity send by our slowe winged postes” to know the king’s pleasure before answering Trumbull’s questions.<sup>11</sup>

Calvert also had to live with the reality that he was not always made privy to the decision-making process and that others of lesser rank had greater influence. John Packer, Buckingham’s secretary and frequently rumored in line to be named a secretary of state, had more influence at court than the secretary. Calvert’s remoteness from the seat of power was something of a scandal among the diplomatic corps in London. In September 1621 the Venetian ambassador reported that business was confined “more than ever to his Majesty, the prince and the favorite alone, and of some [business] the secretary of state scarcely knows anything.” And a few months later the French ambassador assessed the situation in the following manner. The control of public affairs rested with the king, the favorite, and the secretary of state. The king was apathetic toward public affairs while Buckingham, although ignorant of domestic and foreign matters, interfered in both as his vanity dictated. As for Calvert, to whom most affairs of state were referred, the French ambassador judged him “a very good man, of good sense and understanding, well-intentioned, courteous towards foreigners, full of respect towards ambassadors, zealously intent upon the welfare of England; but because of all these good qualities, entirely without authority or influence.” Although both assessments came from ambassadors hostile to the Spanish match, they do contain an element of truth that was undoubtedly known in Commons: Calvert had only limited influence at Court.<sup>12</sup>

On the first working day, February 5, 1621, Commons ordered that “to prevent that noe person inflicted with poperye should sitt as a member,” the entire House should take communion at St. Margaret’s in Westminster. After agreeing that the members must take communion, the House spent the remainder of the morning debating “promiscuously” four points which would occupy its attention for the duration of parliament: the defense and maintenance of its privileges, namely liberty of speech; the best course “to abate the Insolence of the Papists”; the supplying of the king’s wants; and the redress of the numerous grievances. Calvert was anxious to establish that the House must tend to its business as willed by the king in his opening speech. As he rose to speak, an outspoken opponent of the king’s policies rose also. Calvert,

11. GC to Nethersole, August 26, 1621, *BM Add. MSS 5950*, f. 123; GC to Trumbull, August 11, 1621, *Trumbull MSS*, 14: 76. Calvert generally accepted this as a condition of his position but in a rare moment vented his anger at the incompetence around him (GC to Carleson, October 28, PRO SP84/103/147).

12. Packer was mentioned in line for the secretary’s position at the time Calvert was named (Sir Thomas Wynn to Carleton, February 14, 1619, *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, p. 14). After Calvert’s fellow secretary, Sir Robert Naunton, was suspended, Packer was again rumored to be in line for appointment (GC to Lord Doncaster, August 11, 1621, *BM Egerton Manuscripts*, 2594, f. 67). On Packer’s influence, see Florence M. Greir Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office from 1558 to 1680* (Manchester, 1923), p. 75; Lando to Doge and Senate, September 7/17, *CSP, Venice, 1621-1623*, p. 133; Tillieres to Puysieulse, November 15/25, PRO SP31/3/55. I am grateful to James Krysiak for his assistance in translating this letter.



the privy councillor, graciously yielded the floor.<sup>13</sup> When he did finally gain the floor, Calvert sounded not unlike a nagging conscience and thereby established a position he would return to over and over, namely, put the red-herrings aside and deal with the important issues. Side stepping the religious (Catholic) issues altogether, he indicated that liberty of speech was not an issue at all for the king had already granted it. Neither that nor the other point, obviously religion, "should divert us from those two mayne workes which by his Majesties direction were commended to the Parliament," the passage of good laws and the supplying of the king's wants. With a sense of urgency Calvert spoke of the deteriorating situation in the Palatinate and of the king's needs to defend his errant son-in-law. Parliament was not called to examine why the situation existed or to evaluate past policies but to provide a remedy. When there is a fire on the roof, you do not investigate the causes of the fire, you quench it. "All Christendom is in Confusion," he pleaded; it is not honorable for the king to have his sword in his sheath when so many are drawn. Vote the supply, he urged, the king promised you a gracious hearing on your grievances. With force and dignity Calvert presented the government's case, but to little avail. To some the secretary's speech seemed untimely, coming as it did before anything else had been considered. The plea by Calvert and the other councillors fell on deaf ears, as the majority determined that supply and grievances were twins and must be considered together.<sup>14</sup>

The month of February was a busy one for Calvert. The serious matter of communion degenerated into a jurisdictional dispute as the clergy of St. Margaret's objected to the decision to have the learned bishop elect of Ireland, Dr. James Ussher, preach at the communion service. The House promptly selected another church only to have the king, after complimenting the House on its pious and religious purpose, indicate that it was his pleasure that the service be held at St. Margaret's. The dutiful House agreed, and sent word to the church that they proposed to have communion there. However, the Dean of St. Margaret's objected to Ussher's preaching without license. The matter was finally resolved by sending Calvert to the king to seek his mediation. Calvert reported that James graciously granted the license for Ussher to preach and that the Dean had been so informed. Not all matters, as Calvert quickly discovered, could be so easily resolved.<sup>15</sup>

Calvert had far less success on defending the government's policies toward English Catholics, who were seen as rapidly increasing in numbers and influence, and toward Spain. Parliament was agitated over the unseemly influence they thought the Spanish ambassador, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña,

13. "Secretarie Calvert and Mr. Alphard [Edward Alford] riseinge together, it was ordered that Mr. Alphard should speake first . . ." (CD, 4: 13).

14. *Ibid.*, 2: 16-17n, 19-20; 4: 13-14; 5: 432, 435; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 508-9; Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, February 10, 1620/21, in *The Court and Times of James the First*, ed. Thomas Birch, 2 vols. (London, 1849), 2: 224; Chamberlain to Carleton, February 10, 1620/21, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 341-42; Locke to Carleton, February 16, 1620/21, CSP, *James, 1619-1623*, p. 224.

15. Edward Nicholas, *Proceedings and Debates in the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621. Collected by a Member of that House*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1766), 1: 13-14, 30; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 508, 510, 515-17; CD, 2: 56; R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher: Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff, Wales, 1967), pp. 27-28.

Conde de Gondomar, had over their king and English policy. During the first week a very heated exchange took place between Calvert and one of his fellow councillors, Sir Edward Coke. Although a councillor, Coke, in the words of the Venetian ambassador, "shows himself very opposite to his Majesty." At a meeting of the subcommittee for recusants, he delivered a scathing attack on the Spanish ambassador and the resort of English Catholics to his chapel. Calvert took issue with Coke, defending the Spanish ambassador's house as a sanctuary under the laws of nations. Calvert added that resort to the ambassador's chapel "was by noe connivance of State." The suggestion that Coke had implied collusion between the king and the ambassador summoned forth an angry response by other committee members. According to the Venetian ambassador, some went so far as to suggest that the secretary be expelled from parliament. Cooler heads prevailed, however, and the committee resolved to ask the king how he proposed to effect the Spanish marriage without prejudice to religion.<sup>16</sup>

This matter was hardly settled before the king's relationship with the Spanish ambassador was scrutinized in another form and this time by the entire House. At issue was the export of 100 pieces of ordnance under a license granted to the Spanish ambassador. Because of the hostility felt towards Spain in general and the ambassador in particular, this issue raised considerable interest in Commons. The majority urged the king to prevent the shipment at least until such time as it was known "whether we should have Peace or War with Spain." From the House's perspective it was not an unreasonable request. In Calvert's mind it was and he felt "bound in duty to speak" to both inform the House of the actual circumstances and to clear the king's honor. Patiently he explained that the license had been issued about two years before, that the ordnance was not destined for the Palatinate, that the king resolved that no more shipments would be allowed, and that this shipment was a matter of the king's honor. This information was unsatisfactory and, after a number of members expressed their concern and anger, the house ordered the privy councillors to attend the king, humbly beseeching him to stay the order. They returned with substantially the same answers Calvert had given and the matter was dropped.<sup>17</sup>

From grievance to grievance the House skipped, only occasionally stopping to consider the passage of bills. Once more the freedom of speech issue reappeared. Despite the king's assurances at the beginning of parliament that the House was to enjoy all the freedom and liberty formerly granted, the House remained agitated. The membership resolved, notwithstanding Calvert's warn-

16. *CD*, 2: 39; 4: 28; Lando to Doge and Senate (February 16/26, 1621), *CSP, Venice, 1619-1621*, p. 577. Chamberlain reported that Coke "carries himself so well that he hath won a generall applause" (*Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 343). On Coke's motivation, see Zaller, *1621 Parliament*, pp. 51-53. Calvert made no mention of the incident when he wrote to Buckingham on the day the confrontation occurred (February 7, 1620/21, *Fortescue Papers*, pp. 150-51). Divisions within the privy council stimulated the increase in the power of the House of Commons.

17. *CD*, 2: 69-70; 5: 453-455. The reports on this speech vary as to whether Calvert actually said the king had resolved that no more shipments would be allowed. The "Anonymous Journal" recorded Calvert as saying "I confess indeed that the ordnance are a great jewel and I hope such order shall be taken as never any ambassador shall have the like grant again" (2: 70).



ing that the king thought such discussions unreasonable and that a supply should be considered first, to appoint a subcommittee to consider a petition on freedom of speech to the king. James was informed of this move and to avoid needless waste of time, he communicated his thoughts to Calvert ordering him to make them known to the House. This Calvert did, but evidencing considerable distrust, the House desired "Mr. Secretary to deliver it in writing." The delivery in writing of Calvert's speech "set an end to that matter." In this particular instance Calvert, the privy councillor, by going to the king and securing the letter, was able to avoid a needless confrontation. This move was well received by the house. But Calvert would soon discover that this tactic did not always achieve that end.<sup>18</sup>

When parliament granted the king two subsidies, the king went to Whitehall to thank them and promised a redress of their grievances. Commons quickly resumed its discussion of religion. Undoubtedly expressing the majority position, Sir George Moore defined religion and the church as the principal matters of parliament. Untold hours were spent in discussion of the Catholic peril. Again there was talk of still another petition to the king. On February 14 Calvert was one of many messengers sent to the Lords to request a conference for the purpose of petitioning the king for the better execution of the laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Popish Recusants. During the debates in Commons a lawyer named Shepherd had the temerity to say "I hear much spoken at every hand against the Papists, and cannon's shot provided against them, but never a word spoken against the Puritans, or so much as a mousetrap proposed for them." That the House chose to expel him, indicated its touchiness on religion. Perhaps with this in mind, Calvert on February 23 attempted to placate the House. He informed the members that by the king's command the privy council had written letters to all the Justices of the Peace within London and to the Lord Mayor ordering them to search out all recusants in the city, to examine their licenses, and to expel all whose papers were not in order. Although the House thought this better than a proclamation, the religious agitation was not stifled. Commons continued to press for satisfaction.<sup>19</sup>

By the end of the month Calvert had some cause for satisfaction. Beginning with the first working day of February 5, the House had sat twenty-one days. Calvert had spoken once or more on at least seventeen days. His constant attendance left him little time for other duties. When not in the House he undoubtedly spent some time conferring with the king who, once the subsidies were granted, departed for Theobalds. In spite of the occasional "rubs," as he called them, the mood between king and Commons was conciliatory and

18. The king to GC, *CD*, 7: 575-76; Calvert's letter to the house, *ibid.*, 5: 462-463; 4: 55; Mead to Stuteville, February 10, 1620/21, Birch, *Court of James I*, 2: 224. Neither James, nor Pym, nor Calvert could foresee that the issue would take on new importance with the arrest of two members of parliament during the summer adjournment (See below, note 33).

19. *CD*, 2: 79, 104; 4: 76; 5: 484; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 509; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 395 vols. to date [London, n.d.], 3: 17; Thomas Murray to Carleton, February 17, 1621, *CSP, James*, 1619-1623, p. 224; Chamberlain to Carleton, February 17, 1621, *Letters*, 2: 344. Shepherd spoke in opposition to "An act for punishing of abuses on the Sabbath day." (*CD*, 2: 82; 4: 53).

Calvert believed that progress had been made, optimistically reporting to Carleton that "I doubt not of good success for my part."<sup>20</sup>

The House continued to iterate its grievances. They had, according to Thomas Locke, enough to last a year. Calvert, in constant attendance, complained towards the end of the month that he could not get the council together for needed business as he and his fellow councillors were troubled morning and afternoon with the affairs of parliament. Perhaps because the king had given the House a free rein, Calvert did not participate significantly in the debates on the abuses of the patents and monopolies. James was even quoted to the effect that he would not meddle in speeches in the lower house, saying that they are 400 kings and he is but one. Perhaps hoping to gain additional subsidies, the king lavished praise on the Commons, usually in the form of messages of thanks delivered by his secretary. But James made other concessions, usually through his secretary. Calvert reported that the king had taken notice of the bribery complaints against Lord Chancellor Bacon. James proposed, Calvert reported, that the matter be examined by a commission of six members from the Lords and twelve from Commons. The king hoped that the Chancellor would be freed from any doubt; however, if guilty James did not doubt that the House would do him justice. The king's concern, expressed through Calvert when he delivered the message suggesting a respite for Easter, was that there should be "no impediment to the subsidies." Up to this point the king had taken an active interest in parliament. Calvert spent much time in conference with James and served a very useful function in making known to the Commons the king's views. At the end of March the Venetian ambassador could still report that parliament "is working harmoniously with the King" and that each was striving to see who could please the other the most. As long as a conciliatory spirit existed Calvert proved a useful agent.<sup>21</sup>

During the recess from March 27 to April 17 the bitter hostility towards English Catholics and the Spanish continued unabated and spilled over into the streets. A number of apprentices and "base people" insulted the Spanish ambassador while he traveled the streets of London; violence was threatened but did not materialize. Not satisfied with how the matter was handled by local authorities, the king hurried from Theobalds to rebuke the Lord Mayor and the aldermen "for their slack and negligent government in not restraining the barbarous insolency of those people and caused some 4 or 5 of them that

20. GC to Aston, February 10, 1620/21, BM Add. MSS 36445, f. 36; GC to Carleton, March 1, 1620/21, PRO SP84/100/1. Of all the privy councillors only Sir Edward Coke spoke more frequently (CD, 1: 154, 156, 167-68, 183, 193). But Coke rarely supported the king and was "the bellweather and leades the flocke" (Chamberlain to Carleton, February 17, 1621, *Letters*, 2: 345).

21. Locke to Carleton, March 3, 12, 1621, CSP, *James, 1619-1623*, p. 231, 234; GC to Carleton, March 23, PRO SP84/100/89; CD, 2: 206, 219, 244-45; 4: 171; 5: 38. The debate on a bill to prohibit the importation of Spanish tobacco afforded Calvert his only opportunity to speak on Spanish matters. As might be expected he spoke against the bill. Altogether he spoke at least once on fourteen days (*ibid.*, 1: 155; 2: 213-14; Lando to the Doge and Senate, March 23/April 2, 1621, CSP, *Venice, 1621-1623*, p. 2). The "King and Commons knew that a quarrel was the road to disaster and they both displayed self-restraint for many months" (David Harris Willson, *King James VI & I* [New York, 1956], p. 416).

were discovered to be active in the affront to be whipped publicly through the streets of London." A proclamation for suppressing insolent abuses against persons of quality soon followed but did not mitigate the strong anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic feelings of most Londoners or the returning members of parliament.<sup>22</sup>

When parliament reconvened in April, the king urged the members to finish their work quickly, hinting that they would not be sitting much longer. Again he desired that they take further notice of his needs, and cautioned restraint in the hearing of complaints. Calvert continued to strive to implement these goals, not interfering in the debates where the king had given the House a free rein, relaying messages to the House when called upon to do so, and urging caution when he felt restraint was necessary. Apparently this role satisfied him. With so many members, including the privy councillors, aiming to further their vested interests or fostering private ambitions, Calvert's highest purpose was to implement the king's stated ends. However, given the elaborate committee system, the lack of unity of the councillors, and strong opposition to the king's policies, Calvert had little chance of success.<sup>23</sup>

Calvert limited his speaking to those issues directly affecting the king's interests. Where the king's prerogatives were at stake, he attempted politely to warn parliament of the dangers of pressing the matter. When charges of corruption were brought against the sickly Sir John Bennet, Calvert merely recommended that he be sent to the Tower where he could be treated by his doctor. Calvert argued forcibly against a bill for free fishing in America, a bill which was popular "for its value as a source of embarrassment to the government and as a means of extending parliamentary control." One of seven to speak against the bill, he argued that the plantations were not under parliament's jurisdiction, that they "are not yet annexed to the Crown of England, but are the King's as gotten him by Conquest; and therefore he thinketh it worthy the Consideration of the House, whether we shall here make Laws for the Government of those Parts; for he taketh it, that in such new Plantations the King is to govern it only by his Prerogative, and as his Majesty shall think fit." Nevertheless, the bill was sent to a committee for further discussion. Again Calvert spoke when Cranfield moved that a bill be drawn against the transportation of ordnance and to petition the king. Generally well disposed to the motion, Calvert urged that the king's hands not be tied, for a blanket

22. GC to Aston, April 21, 1621, *BM Add. MSS 36445*, ff. 94-95; Chamberlain to Carleton, April 7, 1621, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 361-62; *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, p. 245; Meade to Stuteville, April 9, 1621, Birch, *Court of James I*, pp. 247-49. James also ordered the bishops and clergy to exhort the people to respect ambassadors (Lando to Doge and Senate, April 13/23, 1621, *CSP, Venice, 1621-1623*, p. 31).

23. *CD*, 2: 298, 303-6; Locke to Carleton, April 23, 1621, *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, pp. 246, 249; Chamberlain to Carleton, April 23, 1621, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 366-67. For a discussion of the many intrigues, especially as they relate to Cranfield, see Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts; The Center of Lionel Cranfield, The Earl of Middlesex* (Oxford, 1966), ch. 7. Calvert undoubtedly had a vested interest in matters relating to the colonies. However, his interests and the king's were identical.

prohibition would preclude him from helping his allies. This matter should properly be left to the king and the privy council.<sup>24</sup>

In a debate on April 24 over the abuse of patents, Calvert was confronted with an issue directly affecting his own credibility in Commons. Privy councillors had the uneasy task of serving as councillors to the king and as members of parliament. It was not always easy to balance the two roles. As Cranfield pointed out, "We about the chair have a heavy burden for we are questioned for all things in the House by the King." One way to discredit a councillor was to accuse him of misinforming the king or of giving the king information before the House intended. Cranfield informed the House that he had gone to wait upon the king on the previous Saturday at six o'clock and found him displeased over matters concerning the alehouse debate that morning. He was able to set the king straight, Cranfield reported, but the House was convinced that someone had misinformed the king. One member demanded that misinformers be severely punished; another that the House should censure any member disclosing "any mans free speech." Calvert was suspect. The secretary took the floor in his own defense, expressing his sorrow that this "ill Office" had been done to the House. He related his own meeting with the king that same Saturday but some two hours before Cranfield. James had proceeded to tell him of what transpired in the morning concerning alehouses. Calvert took pains to call attention to the fact that he was not present that morning, thereby hoping to clear himself.<sup>25</sup>

The suspicion, however, lingered and surfaced again during early May. Calvert brought a message of rebuke from the king, ordering the House to end its debate concerning the raising of certain people to baronets for "all honor belongs to the kings prerogative." The king was informed, Calvert reported, that the House was considering a bill forbidding clergymen to be justices of peace. Calvert's warning that Commons should forbear further discussion of the bill reinforced the belief that the king was "dalie informed" of the proceedings of the House. As the king's messenger, Calvert was an obvious leak. The angry House, however, could do no more than to send Calvert and two other councillors to advise the king that he had been misinformed. Commons never intended to enact a bill on justices of the peace but only to consider the issue in the form of petition.<sup>26</sup>

By now Calvert was a marked man. During the incident involving Edward Floyd, a Catholic lawyer who was prisoner in the fleet, the house vented itself. A person of no consequence who presented no threat to the state, Floyd's crime was, as Calvert related it, "speaking wickedly, and basely" of the king's son-in-law and daughter, the King and Queen of Bohemia who were now in exile. On May 1 an unrepentent Floyd was brought before the bar where, after crossing

24. *CD*, 2: 314-15, 320-21, 332; 3: 82; 4: 256; 6: 112; *Proceedings and Debates*, 1: 318-19; Richard A. Preston, "Fishing and Plantation: New England in the Parliament of 1621," *American Historical Review*, 45 (October 1939): 35. The House ignored Calvert's advise to send Bennet to the Tower.

25. *Commons Journals*, 1: 589; *CD*, 6: 95-96; Prestwich, *Cranfield*, p. 324.

26. *CD*, 2: 333-34; 4: 283; 6: 115-16.

himself, he denied having spoken the words attributed to him. At this point Calvert urged that the king be acquainted with the proceedings and that the House proceed no further without his permission. Calvert agreed that Floyd had uttered "Abominable wordes," but the case is of no great merit and he thought it only fitting that "wee be advised how wee meddle in it." Commons was in no mood for the secretary's usual deference and caution. The next day the House indulged itself by listening to testimony against Floyd and then, after having his study and personal possessions searched, delighted in the possible punishments to be inflicted. When the chancellor of the exchequer informed Commons that the king believed the House did not have the power to punish Floyd, he ignited a debate over jurisdictions that raged for some days. During the debate on May 4, after reporting a generally unfavorable message from the king, Calvert attempted to leave. This disturbed the membership. They presumed he was going to report to the king. Calvert assured the House that he "had great matters of state" to attend to, but the House refused to allow him to depart until the issue was settled. The humiliation perhaps explains the king's secretary's absence from the next three days of debate. The king could not be insulted but his secretary was fair game.<sup>27</sup>

The House continued its preoccupation with grievances throughout the remainder of May. Calvert assured the House that the king's promise of free speech still stood, warned the members not to meddle with the king's relationship with the Merchants Venturers, and again spoke against the bill on free fishing. Increasingly dissatisfied with the lower house's behavior and unwilling to forsake his dream of a negotiated peace, James found parliament a source of embarrassment. He resolved in late May to have parliament adjourn until November. Faced with the prospect of returning home without any accomplishments, the House pleaded for more time. Exasperated with the House's dilatory tactics and its obsession with grievances, Calvert threw down a challenge. The king, he stated

is willing to pass all [bills] that shall be good for the commonwealth, and will hear your grievances and give answer to them. There hath been this parliament an uniting of the King's heart to the subjects, and the subjects to the King and woe be to him that would make a separation. Religion is in ill case. Is this the way to help? Let us prepare as many bills as we may, and what though we have not all that we would. Neither hath the King all he would.

Calvert could not understand what the House hoped to achieve. His willingness to compromise, however, was not shared by all. After a short but unproductive extension, parliament adjourned on June 4 without passing any bills or determining a session.<sup>28</sup>

No longer consumed with parliamentary affairs, Calvert devoted his time to

27. GC to Carleton, May 16, 1621, PRO SP84/100/54-55; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 598-602; *CD*, 1: 155; 2: 335, 345-53; 4: 286-87, 302-3; 5: 119; 6: 119-23, 126, 132, 137; C. H. McIlwain, "The House of Commons in 1621," *The Journal of Modern History*, 9 (June 1937): 210; Zaller, *1621 Parliament*, p. 105.

28. *CD*, 2: 359, 365, 386, 398, 407-8; 4: 331, 368, 382-83; GC to Carleton, June 7, 1621, PRO SP84/101/140.

council matters and foreign affairs. The clamor for war with Spain temporarily silenced, James forged ahead with his effort to seek a negotiated peace. He dispatched John Lord Digby to Vienna to negotiate the restoration of the Lower Palatinate. Capturing the despondent mood of the country, John Chamberlain lamented that "sure mens [i.e., staunch Protestants] hearts begin to sinke, and fear that religion is hard in case as well at home as abroad." Without betraying his own sentiments, Calvert related how events at home transpired. Gondomar, he recounted, had with much zeal solicited on behalf of the Catholics of England. The king gave orders to all his judges in the presence of the entire council that they should proceed with "all moderation and clemency towards that sort of his subjects." Relaxation of the penal laws and closer ties with Spain would not endear James to parliament, but a negotiated settlement could avert the urgent need for reconvening parliament.<sup>29</sup>

High hopes in the absence of any substantial bargaining position rarely insured diplomatic successes. The Digby mission was doomed to fail. But until Digby returned, the full extent of the failure could not be assessed. As late as September 24 Calvert wrote that the king did not doubt that a final accommodation could be achieved if Frederick would be guided by James's advice. Preparations for the Spanish match continued. The king and Calvert dealt frankly with Gondomar in an effort to facilitate Digby's negotiations. Still believing that peace could be achieved without the warlike parliament, James issued a proclamation adjourning parliament until February.<sup>30</sup>

By mid October the sharp differences between the king and his people over religion not only continued but, in Calvert's estimation, had increased. Calvert admitted to Lord Doncaster that until Digby returned no one could predict what would become of the Palatinate business. On October 31 the angry Digby returned. He met with the king and the council, informing them of the extent of his failure. Soon thereafter James proclaimed that parliament, which had been adjourned until the next February, would meet on November 20. According to Calvert, the king summoned parliament into session "for further contributions from his people for the maintenance of the warr, if nothing else will serve to procure restitution." With the new militancy, parliament and the king's objectives once again seemed to coincide.<sup>31</sup>

29. Chamberlain to Carleton, June 9, 1621, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 382; GC to Aston, June 26, 1621, BM Add. MSS 36445, f. 151. Calvert incurred the wrath of the newly appointed Lord Keeper, John Williams, for releasing "one Rookwood, a Papist." Calvert undoubtedly released him in accordance with the king's wishes (Williams to Buckingham, July 22, 1621, in *Cabala: sive Scrinia sacra. Mysteries of State & Government: in Letters of illustrious persons and great agents; in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the King Charls . . .*, [London, 1654], pp. 61-62). The Florentine ambassador solicited Calvert "for the enlargement of lay recusants as are prisoners throughout England and Wales." Calvert wrote Buckingham (July 31, 1621) desiring to know what the policy was in order to be rid of further solicitations (Hartley Russell MSS D/Ehy01, f. 91; photostat in MHS, Foster Manuscripts).

30. GC to Salisbury, September 24, 1621, *Salisbury MSS*, 22: 152; Endymion Porter to his wife, October 9, in *The Knyvett Letters (1620-1644)*, ed. Bertram Schofield (London, 1949), p. 56; GC to Aston, October 19, BM Add. MSS 36445, f. 261; CSP, *James, 1619-1623*, p. 296.

31. GC to Trumbull, October 19, 1621, *Trumbull MSS*, 14: 80; GC to Doncaster, October 20, 1621, BM Egerton MSS 2594, f. 143; Locke to Carleton, November 3, 1621, CSP, *James, 1619-1623*, p. 306; GC to Carleton, November 5, 1621, PRO SP84/103/211. For the details of Digby's mission, see Zaller, "James I and the Palatinate," pp. 156-71.



This meeting of parliament, which lasted from November 20 until December 19, proved to be a most trying experience for Calvert. In the previous sessions he had suffered considerable abuse for his unrelenting support of the king's policies. Dutifully he presented the king's case in the best light, often expressing the very words his colleagues least wanted to hear. Not always apprized of important policy shifts, during this session Calvert found himself in the embarrassing position of having read the signs incorrectly, speaking in opposition to the king's wishes on relations with Spain.

James delegated to Lord Keeper Williams, Cranfield, and Lord Digby the responsibility to represent to both houses the "distressed estate" of his children, that there was little hope that they would recover their patrimony without force of arms, and that the king did not have the means without the "helpe of his people" to go to war. Unabashedly parliament was told that James was determined to recover the Palatinate by war. Cranfield, the new Lord Treasurer, said he would ask for no money other than for that purpose and reminded the House of Commons of their pledge to spend life and goods for the cause. According to Calvert, Digby made a plain and particular narrative of his whole mission, concluding that all other means had failed and that war was the only recourse. With no information to the contrary Calvert assumed that these speeches established the general guidelines to be followed.<sup>32</sup>

Calvert quickly discovered that the House was in no mood to supply the king's needs until the many outstanding grievances were resolved. The issues of free speech and of some members misinforming the king again surfaced. These matters were raised by Calvert's antagonist Edward Alford, who questioned the purpose of two proclamations against lavish and licentious speech in matters of state issued by the king. Alford was perplexed. By command of the three lords the House was to discuss the business of the Palatinate, but Alford did not like the restrictions placed by the proclamations; nor did he like it that the king was "misinformed" about the debates in the House. By way of a not-too-veiled threat he invoked the memory of one Terrill who, during the reign of Henry VII, was sent to the Tower and disabled from ever serving again for telling the king of the "Business of this House." Patiently Calvert tried to soothe the situation. He did not see the reason for the fears expressed and objected to the imputations cast against the king. There was a proclamation that forbade discussion of state matters in alehouses and taverns but, Calvert said, "I hope this is neither alehouse nor tavern." Calvert's levity, however, was lost on the sober House. Another member raised the issue of the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys. James had ordered Sandys's arrest soon after the June adjournment and, although long since released from prison, he was conspicuous by his absence. Had Sandys been arrested because of parliamentary business? Acting without any explicit commission from the king, Calvert tried to end the impasse. He assured the House that Sir Edwin Sandys was not committed for anything said or done in parliament. Calvert's credibility in the

32. *CD*, 2: 432-39; 4: 423-29; Locke to Carleton November 24, 1621, *CSP*, *James, 1619-1623*, p. 313; GC to Doncaster, December 27, 1621, *BM Egerton MSS 2595*, ff. 7-9.

House was not very high. One witness reported that "the House will scarce believe Mr. Secretary, but thinketh he equivocateth." Despite the assurance to the contrary, suspicion was great and a week later at least one member expressed strong dissatisfaction with Calvert's disclaimer because he was a party to the arrest "and therefore no fit person in this case to give satisfaction."<sup>33</sup>

The king's Palatinate policy came in for scathing criticism. Calvert again tried to blunt the thrust of the criticism by attacking the false conclusion that this was not the time to vote a supply. In arguing for the supply Calvert abandoned his usual discretion and strongly condemned both the Spanish and English Catholics. For his part he would not trust the King of Spain too far. Friendship among Princes "is as their Strength and Interest is." When James was ready, Calvert asserted, "he will be at defiance with the King of Spain; and for the false-hearted Christians, the papists, I would they were discovered and laid open. The king hath been too long with his Sword in his sheath, but you would have him have it longer in." To not vote the supply was to make a farce of the House's previous commitment to the king's children. Here Calvert not so gently recalled the punishment of Floyd who "had bespattered their Honor with his own foul Mouth." To not act would make a lie of earlier statements. But the House wanted to know who was "our true Enemy." The House had endorsed in principle the king's war but disagreed with him on the tactics. Limited warfare would accomplish little "against the Spaniard, unless we can take from him his Purse, the West Indies." But, as Calvert pointed out, the present supply had the purpose of keeping the forces in the Palatinate together, and was not a supply for a long war. Finally after extensive debate a committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the king on recusants, to ask for a session before Christmas, and a subsidy for the "present Relief of the Palatinate, was voted to be paid in February next."<sup>34</sup>

At this point, with the foreign affairs issue seemingly resolved, Sir George Goring introduced a new wrinkle. Goring moved that the king be petitioned to "be pleased to declare open War against the King of Spayne" if he refused to assist in restoring the Palatinate. The motion had been introduced on Buckingham's orders and Goring related to his patron that it "tooke wonderfully well." Excited by the motion, the House was "much distracted" not knowing whether Goring had taken leave of his senses or whether he had introduced the motion upon "some underhand advice." Did this represent a new policy the king wished to pursue? Calvert, never one to move boldly and embarrassed by his own ignorance of the origins of the motion, remained silent. He limited himself to speaking against an act for freer liberty of fishing in Newfoundland and other parts of America. Having recently purchased a portion of Newfoundland, it is not surprising to find him speaking in favor of a proviso that protected the interests of the planters. The petition, which ranged over matters

33. *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 197-200; *CD*, 2: 441, 484n, 486n; 5: 411; King to Council, June 15, 1621, King to GC, August 30, 1621; *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, pp. 265, 286, 202, 278; Chamberlain to Carleton, June 23, November 24, 1621, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 384, 411.

34. *Commons, Journals*, 1: 645-46, 648, 650; *CD*, 2: 449-50; 5: 213-14, 225; *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 213-14, 216, 241-42; Zaller, *1621 Parliament*, p. 149.



of religion and foreign policy, was dispatched to the king at the close of business on December 3.<sup>35</sup>

On the next day Calvert interrupted the debates to deliver what one member later described as a "soul-killing Letter from his Majesty." At last the king made his position known which, according to Calvert, was "of so sharpe a reprehension as putt us instantly into disorder." Small wonder. The petition had just been dispatched to the king. Before it could possibly have reached its destination, however, the king's reply was read to Commons. The letter was indeed "a brave one," as Calvert characterized it. The king, the speaker intoned to the House, had heard that his detention by ill-health at some distance from parliament had led some fiery spirits to meddle with matters far beyond their capacity and to encroach upon the prerogative. He excoriated the members for meddling with state mysteries, namely the Prince's marriage, discussions about the King of Spain, and individual cases belonging to the Courts of Justice. He forbade any further discussions. Concerning Sandys, the angered monarch reiterated that he was not committed for misdemeanors in parliament. Besides he considered himself free to punish any such misdemeanors and threatened to punish all insolence in parliament. As for the petition, dated the same day as the king's letter, he asserted that he would neither listen to it nor answer it if it touched on the forbidden points. The stunned House sat in silence. Finally, after dispatching messengers to recall their earlier messengers who had been sent to deliver the petition, the House resolved to postpone discussion until the next morning. The letter rejuvenated Calvert. He wrote to Buckingham that what this letter "was to some I knowe not, but I am sure to me it was an exceeding comfort to see his Majesty in such a princely manner to vindicat his honor out of the hands of those who were so bold with it."<sup>36</sup>

The events of the preceding days had been immensely trying for the king's secretary. As was true of other councillors, Calvert had only general instructions concerning foreign policy positions. Digby's relation to parliament seemed to indicate a shift in policy towards Spain. Acting on this assumption, Calvert related that after the king had gone to Newmarket, and had "left us to ourselves, [that] wee neither spared the King of Spaine, nor the match, nor any thing that might concerne that Nation, but for a fortnight together did so course them, [and] being not all that while controlled from Newmarket, wee thought wee had done well." The suspicious and angry House, ever jealous of its privileges, vented its anger on the privy councillors. Believing that Calvert's

35. Goring to Buckingham, November 29, 1621; *CD*, 7: 620-21; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 652, 654; *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 258, 261-67, 276; *CD*, 5: 232; *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, p. 316. On Buckingham's possible motivation see Zaller, *1621 Parliament*, pp. 152-53.

36. Commons, *Journals*, 1: 658; King to Speaker, December 3, 1621, *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 277-78; GC to Doncaster, December 4, 27, *BM Egerton MSS 2594*, f. 183, 2595, ff. 7-9. In his letter (December 8, 1621) to Carleton, Calvert stated the letter "putt the howse much out of temper" (PRO SP84/104/38). Locke to Carleton, December 8, *CSP, James, 1619-1623*, p. 318; GC to Buckingham, December 4, *CD*, 7: 621-22. According to the Venetian ambassador the Spanish ambassador had a copy of the king's letter before it was read in parliament (Lando to Doge and Senate, December 13/23, 1621, *CSP, Venice, 1619-1621*, pp. 183-84).

strong words had been a trap, the House singled him out for abuse. Only he could know, however, that he had acted sincerely. What had happened was not from duplicity but because Calvert was not always privy to the major policy decisions made by James and Buckingham. The stinging abuse of the House was ameliorated by the fact that at least the king had asserted himself and was giving, Calvert believed, much needed direction to his servants.<sup>37</sup>

After virtually ignoring parliament since it was recalled, the lethargic monarch now attempted to reassert control. Calvert, who had been left adrift, was inundated with directions. However, his effectiveness had been seriously undermined. The Venetian ambassador wrote of the contempt expressed by some members toward the secretary of state when he spoke on many particulars in the king's name. One member openly ridiculed Calvert when he urged that the House not attempt to justify the petition but satisfy the piqued king "by Way of Excuse." Calvert's realistic advice that to offer the petition again would only "incense his Majesty the more" fell on deaf ears. On December 7 Calvert informed the House of the king's command that Henry Goldsmith, who had brought suit against Sir Edward Coke, be released from his arrest by Commons and that the House should not interfere any further with his case. To his mortification the House ignored the order. Calvert's repetition of the order encountered a stony response: a declaration that more time was needed to think about the matter. Then the House proceeded to hear a committee report on another matter. Calvert took these humiliations with as much dignity as he could muster but was unable to stem the House's course. All he could do was quibble over the petition's final phraseology. With the petition or declaration in the final stages, Calvert hoped to turn the House back to the business of passing bills. Instead he faced a rebellion. One member moved that nothing be done until the House had heard from the king. As Calvert described it to Buckingham, "there is a greate party in the Howse that desire to sitt, and to do no businesse at all, until we have his Majesty's answeare." His admonitions to abandon this course were to no avail. Few were willing to stand with the isolated Calvert. "Wee finde so little helpe in our house or furtherance to bring to passe his Majesty's just and Princely ends," he complained to Buckingham. He named but three "principall Men that upon all occasions stand up for the King." While conceding that there were many other "well affected Men," Calvert lamented that they were not willing to speak on the king's behalf. Business was "so crosse with us in the Parlement," he reported on the day the petition was sent, that he despaired of completing business.<sup>38</sup>

Angry with the king, the House continued to vent its frustration on Calvert. On December 10 the House was reminded that Calvert once questioned Alford for words spoken in the House. One member wanted to know whether the king's secretary was satisfied that Alford had spoken anything "unfitting or

37. GC to Doncaster, December 27, 1621, BM Egerton MSS 2595, ff. 7-9.

38. Lando to Doge and Senate, December 13/23, 1621, CSP, Venice, 1619-1621, p. 185; Commons, Journals, 1: 658-61; Proceedings and Debates, 2: 287; CD, 2: 506; 5: 233-34; GC to Buckingham, December 7, 1621, *ibid.*, 7: 624-25; GC to Carleton, December 8, 1621, PRO SP84/104/38.

misbeseeing the Duty of a Subject." Calvert agreed that he had indeed charged Alford for some of his words "but the House did not then think fit" to question Alford for it. It was immaterial whether he was satisfied or not. Two days later, with the house sitting "long silent," Calvert announced that he had received a message from the king that it was his "express Commandment" that Commons should proceed to pass the many bills it had under consideration and "to prepare to make an end of Session before Christmas." The House debated the matter. Calvert interjected a terse reminder that he had not relayed advice but a command from the king, adding that in his estimation the order did not prejudice the liberties of the House. More debate followed and finally Calvert was ordered to put the message in writing.<sup>39</sup>

Calvert's difficulties are graphically captured in the protracted debate over the order to release Goldsmith. On December 10 he had assured the House that they could deal with Goldsmith if he "hath offended against the House." A few days later Calvert received a letter from Buckingham indicating that the king was prepared to hold him responsible for the delay in releasing Goldsmith. He wrote that the king commanded him to write "that you beware you have not given the House too great scope in giving them libertie to deale with any offences committed directly against the House." Believing that he had acted in concert with the king's wishes, Calvert replied with confidence that "I do not doubt but your Lordship will preserve mee from blame" if "I have given liberty to the House in his Majesty's Name." Such a course was warranted "by the former directions which I received from his Majestie, both by verball Message and writing, without which I would not have presumed to do it."<sup>40</sup>

The House was convinced that its liberties were threatened and the king's men were unable to assuage their doubts. A letter from the king to Calvert on December 17 only slightly moderated these fears. The king decried the House's penchant for wasting time in "the curious wrangling of lawyers upon words and syllables." He informed the House that his words in an earlier letter, that their privileges were a toleration rather than an inheritance, were not meant to infringe on any privilege they enjoyed. Moving that "this letter of explanation be entered to remayne to posteritie," Calvert also sought to justify those who informed the king, saying that "whosoever" had done so "hath done a good Office to the House." Calvert, however, decided not to inform the house of the king's second instruction to protest its stubbornness and to declare the king's resolution "for breaking up the Parliament." He had not acted on his own but "upon advise and direction from the Prince" who thought the king should be advised of "the successe of this day." The success was short-lived. The next day with many members not in attendance, Calvert moved that at "a certain Hour we shall proceed to Business" whether the House was full or not. Despite the fact the king "was very desirous to make a session," no accord could be reached and on December 19, as Calvert put it, "Our ill handling of matters in

39. *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 305-6, 316-17; *CD*, 2: 509-10, 513-14, 518; *Commons, Journals*, 1: 661-63.

40. Buckingham to GC, (probably December 14, 1621), *Fortescue Papers*, p. 172; GC to Buckingham, December 17, 1621, *CD*, 7: 626; 6: 231; *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 329.

Parliament has brought upon us a Dissolution" which he thought was a "great misfortune both to the King and people at this time."<sup>41</sup>

By the time of the 1624 parliament Calvert's effectiveness had been undermined by circumstances occurring outside of parliament. Having fallen into disfavor with Buckingham, Calvert more than ever operated on the fringes and his presence in Commons contributed little to the session which lasted from February until the end of May. James, having called parliament as a means to pressure Spain and thereby obtain a restitution of the Palatinate, gave parliament a carte blanche to deal with foreign affairs. Having spent much of his time in the 1621 parliament battling to protect the royal prerogative in this area, Calvert had little to do. James promised parliament that the prince, Buckingham, and the two secretaries would provide the full particulars about the marriage treaty and the restitution of the Palatinate. Calvert's role was minimal as Buckingham, who wanted parliament to break the Spanish treaties, gave most of the particulars. Obviously perplexed by the division between Buckingham and the king, Calvert was unable to work actively to secure the king's interests for he could not be certain what they were.<sup>42</sup>

Out of touch with the king who was insulated by a layer of men loyal to Buckingham and out of favor with the duke, Calvert had only minimal duties. He received few messages from the king and was in communication with the king only through third parties, usually the other secretary—Buckingham's man Sir Edward Conway. Unlike the earlier parliament, Calvert made no effort to defend the king's Palatinate and Spanish policies. When the Spanish ambassadors complained about the insulting verbal assaults made in the House of Commons upon the Spanish king, Calvert was ordered to verify the charge and then along with Conway was sent to pacify the Spanish.<sup>43</sup>

Having been caught off guard in the 1621 parliament, Calvert was reticent and moved with great caution in 1624. Chamberlain aptly described the mood of the membership when he wrote that "they are so warie and cautious on all sides as yf they were to treat with enemies and in danger to be overreacht." Finally after long deliberation and considerable vacillating the weary king agreed to break off the treaties. A council of war was named which did not include Calvert, and preparations were made to send ambassadors to France to negotiate a marriage with a French princess. At this point Calvert opened

41. King to GC, December 16, 1621, *CD*, 2: 528-30; GC to Buckingham, December 17, 1621, *CD*, 7: 626-27; 5: 240; *Proceedings and Debates*, 2: 341; Commons, *Journals*, 1: 668-69; GC to Doncaster, December 27, 1621, *BM Egerton MSS 2595*, ff. 7-9; GC to Salisbury, January 3, 1621/22, *Salisbury MSS*, 22: 159.

42. For the details of Calvert's fall from favor, see Krugler, "The Heart of a Papist." For the decision to convene parliament, see Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 17-42; 382-86. Also, see Chamberlain to Carleton, February 21, 1624, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 546; Sir Edward Conway to Carleton, February 22, 1624, *CSP, James, 1623-1625*, p. 169; Henry Erskine to the Earl of Mar, March 1, 1624, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie Preserved at Alloa House, N. B.*, 2 vols. (London, 1904-30), 1: 123.

43. Commons, *Journals*, 1: 675; Earl of Kelly to Conway, March 2, 1624, Conway to Calvert, March 2, 1624, Calvert and Conway to Earl of Kelly, March 3, 1624, Earl of Kelly to Conway, March 4, Dudley Carleton to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 5, 1624, *CSP, James, 1623-1625*, pp. 175-77, 179.

negotiations to sell his office. Attending parliament sporadically during May, Calvert's parliamentary career came to an end with the prorogation at the end of the month. The four months of this parliament were very distressing for Calvert. Discredited for his support of the Spanish match in opposition to Buckingham, he was not given any major responsibilities and had to bear witness to the destruction of the Spanish treaties which he had labored diligently to secure. After protracted negotiations and a partial reconciliation with Buckingham, he finally disposed of his secretarial office on favorable terms. In February 1625 he retired from government service and soon after acknowledged his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>44</sup>

How is Calvert's role as a parliamentarian to be judged? The answer must be made in the context of the role he was expected to play. If there were any consistency in James's appointments to major offices in the latter years of his reign it was that the king (or better perhaps, Buckingham) wished to avoid strongwilled, independent, powerful individuals who could constitute a threat to Buckingham. The ideal was a responsible, powerless, dependent individual who could be counted on not to rock the ship of state. Calvert obviously was not expected to play a dominant role. His elevation came not from the force of his personality or from his leadership qualities but because he was a loyal, diligent, and tireless laborer on the king's behalf who could be expected to follow his instructions without question. He did not see himself as a leader and functioned best when he acted under direct instructions from the king. He felt most secure when James exercised his authority and gave direction to his servant. Not surprisingly, Calvert was unable to organize the king's heterogeneous forces in the House of Commons. That role had to be performed by someone of greater stature than Calvert; unlike his mentor, the Earl of Salisbury, Calvert functioned without the substance of power, having both limited access to the king and controlling no patronage. Indeed, in 1620 he was barely able to secure his own election to the 1621 parliament and in 1624 had to fall back on a safe government seat from Oxford.

Calvert of course must bear some responsibility for the failure of the king to secure his interests, especially in the parliament of 1621 where he had a conspicuous role. But that responsibility must be shared in greater proportion by many others, most especially by the lethargic king and by the irresponsible Buckingham who failed to exercise the leadership that was concomitant with the power he grasped. The committee system in Commons, the lack of unity among the king's councillors, the vacillating leadership of the king and his capricious favorite, the hostility to the king's religious and foreign policies, and the obsession of so many members of the Commons with their privileges mitigated against royal control. With no consensus between king and parlia-

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44. Chamberlain to Carleton, March 20, 1624, *Letters of Chamberlain*, 2: 548; Locke to Carleton, April 3, 1624, GC to Conway, May 21, 1624, *GSP, James, 1623-1625*, pp. 205, 251; Earl of Kellie to Earl of Mar, April 5, 1624, *Mar & Kellie MSS*, 2: 197. On the resignation see John D. Krugler, "George Calvert's Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 68 (Fall 1973): 239-54.

ment over major issues such as religion and foreign policy, no man could serve both sides. As a member of parliament and as a councillor, Calvert was pulled in different directions. He presented the king's policies in terms he thought would be most acceptable to Commons and whenever possible offered compromise. In the end this was not enough and Calvert was totally frustrated. The failure of King James to secure his interests in parliament, however, was not from want of effort by his overworked "Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor" who had served the king to the best of his abilities.

# The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise

R. J. LAHEY

AMONG ENGLISH EFFORTS TO SETTLE NEWFOUNDLAND IN THE EARLY seventeenth century, Lord Baltimore's colony at Ferryland is commonly discounted as a visionary affair. Perhaps the quasi-mythical aspects of the name Avalon, the title of his province, tend to obscure the seriousness of his purpose. In any case, it is fair to say that Baltimore's Newfoundland project has never been given the careful attention it merits and that even scholarly accounts sometimes further longstanding misconceptions. Of course, much of the documentation concerning the Ferryland colony does not appear to have survived the passage of time. Nevertheless, a considerable body has done so and is certainly sufficient to allow considerable new light to be shed on both the details of the venture and Baltimore's own actions and intentions in promoting it.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Baltimore's involvement in Newfoundland began in 1620. In that year Sir George Calvert, as he was then, one of two principal secretaries to King James I, purchased a lot in Newfoundland from Sir William Vaughan, whose own earlier efforts to plant there had not been successful.<sup>2</sup> Calvert's very motives frequently have been misunderstood. Even a recent and otherwise informative study of early Newfoundland settlement could state flatly: "Calvert's Newfoundland plantation was not intended as a cure for economic ills,

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1. In addition to materials already better known, there exists a significant collection of documents of interest, hitherto apparently unexamined, in various Vatican archives. These documents cover the period between 1625 and 1631 and concern a proposal for a mission to Avalon to be staffed by English priests of the Carmelite order. With the exception of two pieces in the Ottobonian Collection of the Vatican Library (hereafter referred to as Vat. Libr., Otto. Coll.), the papers are housed in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (S. Cong. P.F.). There they are divided into three groups: the minutes or acts of the general congregations (*Acta*); letters formally referred to these general congregations, *Scritture Originale riferiti al Congregazioni Generali* (S.O.C.G.); and letters otherwise dealt with, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi* (S.R.C.).

2. Vaughan had purchased the whole southern part of the Avalon peninsula from the Newfoundland Company in 1616; he had planted a colony at Renew, immediately to the south of what was later Calvert's lot, the following year, but this lasted only a short time. At the same time as the sale to Calvert, Vaughan also sold the strip which included Renew to Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland. Vaughan recorded that he sold a section to Calvert at the request of his brother, John Vaughan, later Earl of Carberry. See Orpheus Junior [William Vaughan], *The Golden Fleece . . . Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southernmost Part of the Iland, Commonly called the Newfoundland* (London, 1626), inscription on map facing pt. I, p. 1, and also William Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure* (London, 1630), Epistle Dedicatory (unpaginated), and pt. I, pp. 68-69.



... his colony seems to have been a personal, family undertaking—a refuge for the Calverts and their fellow Catholics.”<sup>3</sup> This is the legend, and indeed the legend has a kernel of truth. At a later date Calvert probably did see his colony as a haven for Roman Catholics fleeing from the English penal laws. But it is in the first place to detract from Calvert's rightful place in the history of religious tolerance if this sentiment is confused with a desire to found a “Catholic colony.” The standard version is equally wrong in theorizing about his initial motives from subsequent events. In fact, it is improbable that Calvert's original interest in Newfoundland settlement involved religious considerations of any kind, and even the assumption that these later dominated his thinking is much open to question. A careful perusal of the known facts provides a somewhat different version.

Calvert's mercantile interests are well established. Like so many Englishmen of his day, the secretary saw exploration and colonization as paths to substantial profit. As early as 1609 he was admitted as a member of the East India Company with the considerable investment of £1000.<sup>4</sup> He is known to have become a member of the Virginia Company that same year, and the New England Company by 1622.<sup>5</sup> His later interests extended to such disparate affairs as the silk trade<sup>6</sup> and a plantation in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> These other activities were purely commercial, and there is no reason to suppose that Calvert's original involvement in Newfoundland was any different. On the contrary, his own words, even when religion had entered into the picture, are assuredly those of a businessman. A letter he wrote to Sir Thomas Wentworth in 1627 gives perhaps the clearest indication of his personal preoccupations:

It imports me more than in Curiosity only to see [Newfoundland]; for I must either go and settle it in a better Order than it is, or else give it over, and lose all the Charges I have been at hitherto for other men to build their Fortunes upon. And I had rather be esteemed a fool by some for the Hazard of one Month's Journey, than to prove myself one certainly for six Years by past, if the Business be now lost for the Want of a little Pains and Care.<sup>8</sup>

3. Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto, 1969), p. 92. The best account of the planting is Thomas M. Coakley, “George Calvert and Newfoundland: ‘The Sad Face of Winter,’” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (Spring 1976): 1-18. Dr. Coakley also argues that economic motives were uppermost in Calvert's mind in the beginning, and he recognizes the religious purpose evolved through time. The present article is more precisely concerned with the nature of that evolving religious motivation, and uses the previously overlooked Vatican materials. Dr. Coakley's article, Dr. Krugler's in this issue, and the present article should be read together.

4. He increased this to £1600 in 1616 (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616* [London, 1862], pp. 192, 273).

5. *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. Alexander Brown, 2 vols. (London, 1890), 2: 802-3, 841. See also Coakley, “Calvert and Newfoundland,” pp. 2-3.

6. Baltimore to Sir Thomas Wentworth, April 17, 1628, *Wentworth Papers, 1597-1628*, ed. J. P. Cooper, Camden Society (London, 1973), p. 291. See also Sir Thomas Wentworth to Calvert, August 14, 1624, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. William Knowler, 2 vols. (London, 1739), 1: 23.

7. Calvert was first awarded lands in Ireland on February 18, 1622. He received a new grant, which took in a larger area (2,683 acres arable, 2,125 acres wood and moor) under more favorable conditions, on March 11, 1625 (*Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland in the Reign of Charles the First, First to Eighth Years, Inclusive*, ed. James Morrin [Dublin-London, 1863], pp. 36-37).

8. Baltimore to Wentworth, May 21, 1627, *Strafforde's Letters*, 1: 39.



The second factor which necessarily must be taken into account in probing the reasons for Calvert's interest in Newfoundland is the state of his religious opinion in 1620. There is every reason, in fact, to suppose that he was still then a member of the Church of England. It is true that on the basis of the present evidence neither the time nor the circumstances of Calvert's conversion to Catholicism can be established precisely. Documentation hereafter considered would seem to suggest that the event took place in conjunction with the Spanish marriage negotiations, possibly in 1623 or 1624. In any case, however, the established facts would have to be contrived considerably to make Calvert a Catholic as early as the time of his acquisition of a Newfoundland lot.<sup>9</sup>

Calvert's original holding in Newfoundland was a narrow strip of land running east to west from the Atlantic seaboard to Placentia Bay; it was bounded in the north by Caplin Bay (now Calvert) and in the south by the headland between Aquaforte and Fermeuse.<sup>10</sup> This lot included the harbor of Ferryland, and it was there that his first party of twelve colonists landed on August 4, 1621, under the command of Captain Edward Wynne, a Welshman and soldier.<sup>11</sup> The original settlers have been described as Puritans, but the

9. Much of the documentation relative to Calvert's conversion is treated in an article by John D. Krugler, "Sir George Calvert's Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 68 (1973): 239-54. The author considers the evidence of Calvert's Catholic background, but argues against the theory that Calvert was all along a crypto-Catholic who showed his true colors only in 1625. Krugler himself suggests that the conversion took place at the time of, or after, Calvert's resignation in 1625, and that it was as a result of his loss of favor at court due to his having championed the unsuccessful negotiations for the Spanish marriage of the Prince of Wales. He further speculates that the conversion was brought about through the influence of Sir Tobie Matthew. The Vatican material which will be treated hereafter in the present article would leave the former part of Krugler's thesis tenable, although it does not really support it; however, it would make the latter conjecture highly unlikely. Perhaps the author's whole argument does not give sufficient weight to the implications of Calvert's support for the Spanish marriage as being indicative of his developing Roman Catholic sympathies; it should not be forgotten that he was committed to the proposal to the extent of wholehearted support also for civil liberties for English Roman Catholics. George Cottington, a familiar of Calvert and a member of his household from the time of his becoming Principal Secretary, certainly suggests that Calvert's conversion was a process which took place before his resignation: "His imployment long before his [lordship] declared him selfe Catholick, I felt was little or nothing at all for me, during which tyme I discerned and palpably sawe his preparation to a new profession of religion . . ." (George Cottington to Sir John Finet, April 7, 1628, British Museum [hereafter BM], Sloane MSS, 3827, f. 124<sup>v</sup>).

10. See the inscription of Mason's map of Newfoundland found in Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, facing pt. I, p. 1, and also Vaughan, *Newlanders Cure*, Epistle Dedicatory (unpaginated), pt. I, pp. [68-69]. Unfortunately, it is of little value to try to see the extent of seventeenth-century plantations from modern maps. Using Mason's map (1624), we can see that Calvert's lot was held to include the harbors of Aquaforte, Ferryland, and (in part) Caplin Bay in the east, and Placentia in the west. In terms of seventeenth-century cartography, it would have included the head of Conception Bay in the north but would not have been intersected by St. Mary's Bay, the whole of which was then thought to lie to the south of Calvert's territory. This would apply also, for example, to the map of Newfoundland included in [Samuel Purchas], *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 4 vols. (London, 1626), 4: 1873.

11. Wynne to Calvert, August 26, 1621, printed as *A Letter Written by Captaine Edward Winne to the Right Honourable Sir George Calvert, Knight, His Majesties Principall Secretary: From Ferryland in Newfoundland, the 26, of August. 1621* (n.p., 1621), p. 1. Wynne said elsewhere that he spent the winter of 1620 in Newfoundland, and he spoke of "my several voyages and long staies" (See BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 6<sup>v</sup> and 18. [This document has hitherto escaped attention. It is a lengthy treatise written later by Wynne to advocate the colonization of Newfoundland, and contains references to his experience at Ferryland. Wynne entitled it "The British India, or a Compendious Discourse tending to Advancement." No date is given, but internal evidence would suggest 1628.]).

assertion is not adequately supported. While the possibility cannot be excluded, especially in light of the Puritan migrations current in that period, contemporary reports afford it no real confirmation.<sup>12</sup> All that can be said with assurance of these first inhabitants of Ferryland is that they were largely Welsh and certainly not Roman Catholics, for one of Wynne's urgent appeals was for "a learned and a religious Minister."<sup>13</sup>

As did Wynne's other requests for personnel and supplies, evidently this one too received Calvert's favorable attention. Wynne records that on June 30, 1622, there arrived in the colony together a saltmaker, John Hickson, and "Master James." The latter, apparently, was Richard James, who in 1630 was said to have been "sent minister thither some nine years ago." James, who was something of an adventurer and an explorer and who later achieved fame as librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, had thus the distinction also of being the first Anglican cleric known to have ministered in Newfoundland. His stay there, however, seems not to have been long; neither the saltmaker nor the minister are included in the list of those who were to remain for the winter. In any event, it is doubtful that James would have relished the idea, for the country left him unimpressed. He later described it as having "between eight and nine months' winter, and upon the land nothing but rocks, lakes, or mosses, like bogs, which a man might thrust a spike down to the butthead in."<sup>14</sup> Only in 1627 is James known to have been followed at Ferryland by another Anglican minister, although the presence of successors in the intervening years cannot be discounted completely.<sup>15</sup>

Under Wynne's leadership, Calvert's little plantation made marked progress. A new party of settlers in 1622 brought the population of Ferryland to thirty-three, including seven women. Buildings were constructed, crops sown, timber

12. The assertion is made by Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland* (London, 1819), pp. 86-87. Anspach does not give his authority for the statement. The only evidence which lends any real support to his claim is the connection made in several of the Vatican papers between the Puritans and Newfoundland. See, among others, a report from the Nuncio in Brussels (whose jurisdiction included England), September 21, 1630, Vat. Libr., Otto. Coll., 2536, f. 158. However, all such references are found in secondhand reports and possibly arise from a confusion between New England and Newfoundland. (This is evident, for example, in a paper entitled "Nova Anglia sive Terra Recens Inventa," S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2.)

13. Wynne also asked for a surgeon and went on to suggest "that then your Honour may be pleased by God's assistance, not to doubt of a good and profitable successe in every respect, and a flourishing plantation, women would be necessary here for many respects" (Wynne to Calvert, August 28, 1621, in Wynne, *A Letter*, p. 20). As regards the presence of Catholics at Ferryland, a Vatican report makes it clear that there were at most but a handful of Catholics there even as late as 1625 (see "Relazione avuta dalli P.P. Carmelitani Scalzi," S. Cong. P.F., S.R.C., America Centrale, 1, f. 4<sup>v</sup>). This report is unsigned and undated, but it appears to have been written by the English Carmelite superior, Father Bede of the Blessed Sacrament (John Hiccocks). If so, it likely was written between late summer, 1625, when Father Bede arrived in England, and late December, when he was arrested. This dating is corroborated by the internal evidence. For information on the author, see B. Zimmerman, *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849* (London, 1899), pp. 61-94.

14. Wynne to Calvert, July 28, 1622, and list of settlers attached to letter of August 17, 1622, in Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land . . . As also, an Invitation: and likewise certain letters sent from that country* (London, 1622), pp. 1 and 12 (letters paginated separately); Reverend Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, January 23, 1629-30, *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, [ed. Thomas Birch], 2 vols. (London, 1848), 2: 53. On James' career elsewhere, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "James, Richard."

15. The report of the English Carmelites to Rome in 1625 puts ministers in Newfoundland at that time, but it may not be reliable (S. Cong. P.F., S.R.C., America Centrale, 1, f. 4<sup>v</sup>).

cut; even at that time there were in operation a quarry, a forge, and salt-making apparatus. Wynne was enthusiastic about the land and tolerant of the climate, and his reports to England reflected his optimism.<sup>16</sup> No doubt such accounts led Calvert to seek increased Newfoundland holdings and to strengthen his rights by means of a Royal Patent. (Until then, he had them only at third hand, through Vaughan from the Newfoundland Company.) Calvert's interest and influence at that point must have been considerable, for on December 31 of the same year he and his heirs were awarded by the Crown a grant to the whole island of Newfoundland.<sup>17</sup> So sweeping a concession clearly infringed upon the rights of the other Newfoundland patentees, and it was probably for this reason that it was quickly amended on March 30 to give Calvert only the additional land immediately to the north of his original lot, from Caplin Bay to the mouth of the river at Petty Harbour and stretching west to Conception Bay.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, on April 7, 1623, there was issued the royal charter for the Province of Avalon, which comprised Calvert's somewhat extended territory. The charter in effect established Avalon as a palatinate, and to Calvert the king gave wide vice-regal powers to make laws, "provided allwayes that no interpretation bee admitted thereof whereby God's holy and true Christian Religion, or the allegiance due unto us, our heires and Successors may in any thing suffer any prejudice or diminution." The generality of this language must be contrasted with similar provisions of other contemporary colonial charters. The original grant to the Newfoundland Company in 1610, for example, provided that "we would be loth that any person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to affect the superstitions of the Church of Rome," and it specifically required the taking of the Oath of Supremacy, a measure unambiguously obnoxious to Roman Catholics.<sup>19</sup> By that standard, the absence of restriction on Roman Catholic colonization in the Avalon charter is indeed remarkable. The name "Avalon," too, had obvious religious connotations. The earliest recorded inter-

16. See Wynne's letters to Calvert, July 28 and August 17, 1622, in Whitbourne, *Discourse and Discovery*, pp. 1-4, 8-12. Equally enthusiastic were letters from Capt. Daniel Powell to Calvert, July 28, 1622, and from N[icholas] H[oskins] to W[ill] P[earseley], August 18, 1622, *ibid.*, pp. 5-7, 13-15. Even in later years, Wynne's optimism about the prospects of Newfoundland settlement was maintained undiminished by his experience there. His unpublished treatise on Newfoundland is an unreserved call for colonization, dwelling on the advantages to be derived from the fishery, timber, and furs. He again mentioned his success in growing corn there and while he allowed that the winters were unpredictable, he found them comparable to those of Hamburg (BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 17-19).

17. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1547-1660* (London, 1860), p. 35. A Vatican document suggested that Calvert's boundaries required the security of a Royal Charter for religious considerations (see "Nova Anglia sive Terra Recens Inventa," S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2 [This report seems to have been sent to Rome by the Nuncio in Brussels in September, 1630; there is no reason to suppose that the suggestion made therein came from other than hindsight]).

18. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1547-1660*, p. 41. This gave him the relatively small section of land between his lot and the St. John's lot, in effect (following Mason's map) increasing his territory by about 50 percent. It also seems to have clarified his boundary with the southernmost Conception Bay lot, called the "Sea Forrest" plantation, which had been granted by the Newfoundland Company to John Guy.

19. The Charter of Avalon is in the British Museum, Sloane MSS, 170. For the Newfoundland Company and other contemporary charters, see C. T. Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies, A.D. 1530-1707*, Sedden Society (London, 1913), pp. lxxxiv and 51-62.

pretation states clearly that Calvert named his province "in imitation of old Avalon in Somersetshire, wherein Glassenbury stands, the first fruits of Christianity in Britain as the other was in that part of America."<sup>20</sup> It should be noted, however, that the older Avalon was the cradle of *English* Christianity, and it cannot be assumed immediately that use of that title heralded Calvert's intent to make his colony a Roman Catholic establishment.

Nevertheless, there are indications that by this time Calvert might have developed Roman Catholic sympathies. Godfrey Goodman, a contemporary of Calvert, said that his conversion was brought about by the influence of Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador (who left England in 1622), and Count Arundel (1st Baron Arundel of Wardour), whose daughter Anne later had married Calvert's heir, Cecil.<sup>21</sup> Goodman's relation tends thus to support the version of the Vatican papers, which ascribe both Calvert's conversion and the naming of Avalon to Father Simon Stock (Thomas Doughty),<sup>22</sup> a Discalced Carmelite priest who was then the Spanish Ambassador's chaplain.<sup>23</sup> The two

20. David Lloyd, *State Worthies: Or, the States-men and Favourites of England from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2nd ed. (London, 1670), pp. 750-51. See also a document drawn up by the Calvert family in 1670 on their colonizing efforts (BM, Sloane MSS, 3662, ff. 24-26 ["... called Avalon from Avalon in Somerset shire where Christianity was first receiv'd in England."]). It should be noted that a religious motive for colonization features strongly in Anglican works of this period. See Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (New York, 1965).

21. "... and as he was the only secretary employed in the Spanish match, so undoubtedly he did what good offices he could therein for religion's sake, being infinitely addicted to the Roman Catholic faith, having been converted thereunto by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel. ... And, as it was said, the secretary did usually catechize his own children so to ground them in his own religion, and in his best room having an altar set up, with chalice, candlesticks and all other ornaments, he brought all strangers thither, never concealing anything, as if his whole joy and comfort had been to make open profession of his religion" (Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, ed. John S. Brewer, 2 vols. [London, 1839], 1: 379). The open profession of Catholicism by Calvert, to which Goodman refers, however, certainly does not seem to have taken place until after his resignation as Secretary.

22. Father Simon Stock of St. Mary was the religious name of Thomas Doughty, born in Plombley, Courty Lincoln, about 1574. Having been forced to flee England to escape persecution, he entered the English College in Rome in 1606. It was only after his priestly ordination in 1610 that he became a Carmelite monk. He returned as a missionary to England in 1615, and soon after his arrival there became chaplain to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. In this position he appears to have had not only immunity from prosecution, but also a relatively safe and regular channel of communication with Catholic authorities on the Continent. He retained this appointment until 1633, when he went to reside with the Roper family at Canterbury. He died in 1652 (see Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, pp. 23-39). To avoid confusion, Doughty's religious name is used throughout the present article.

23. S'è scoperta da Missionarii C. Scalsi d'Inghilterra una nuova Isola grande fertiliss[ima] e piena d'huomini sesati, chiamata da essi Avallonia, la qual è à mezo il camino da Inghilterra all'America settentrionala. S'è convertito già dalla gentilità un Sign. grande ... " (Father Francesco Ingoli to Mgr. Agucchio, December 27, 1625, Vat. Libr., Otto. Coll., 2356, f. 45 [The reference to the discovery of the Island probably stemmed from a misunderstanding of the name Newfoundland, or Terra Nuova.]). "Simonem Stochum Carmelitanum discalceatum in Anglia Missionarium ad fidem Catholicam convertisse quemdam magnum virum, et aliquot eius servos ... " (Congregation of March 22, 1625, S. Cong. P.F., *Acta*, 3, f. 208<sup>v</sup>. See also Father Stock to [Father Ingoli], June 27, 1628, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 102, f. 13, which more clearly identifies Baltimore as the person referred to). When Father Simon first informed Rome of Calvert's conversion is unknown, but his letter was answered on March 16, 1625 (see S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 29). His letters took from two to six months to reach Rome, which would mean that his first report was probably written between September, 1624, and early January, 1625. The recipient of Father Simon's letters to Rome is unnamed; however, it was almost certainly Father Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

accounts obviously suggest a link between Calvert's decision to become a Catholic and his participation as principal secretary in the Spanish Marriage negotiations (the proposed marriage of the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, to the Infanta of Spain), which brought him into unusually close contact with the Spanish emissaries in England.<sup>24</sup> According to the Venetian Ambassador in London, Alvise Contarini, Calvert "managed the entire business."<sup>25</sup> In any case, he resolutely supported not only the marriage itself, but also the highly unpopular proposal, which had become attached to the marriage treaty, to abolish the penal measures against English Roman Catholics.

It was after the failure of the Spanish negotiations that there began to appear rumors of Calvert's impending resignation of his secretaryship. These circulated as early as April 1624,<sup>26</sup> but it was not until the beginning of the new year that Calvert actually resigned his position and his espousal of Roman Catholicism became known.<sup>27</sup> There are some signs that Calvert might have fallen from Royal favor;<sup>28</sup> nevertheless, he was retained as a member of the Privy Council and rewarded for his service by an Irish peerage and lands, becoming Baron Baltimore of Baltimore in County Longford.<sup>29</sup>

24. Zimmerman says that Father Simon made converts among prominent Englishmen with whom he had contact during these negotiations, although these men are not identified (*Carmel in England*, p. 32). The same idea is implicit in Goodman's statement about the conversion, for Arundel as well as Gondomar was closely involved in the Spanish marriage business (see Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway, August 18, 1623, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-25. With Addenda*. [London, 1859], p. 58). While Goodman's statement as to Gondomar's influence upon Calvert's conversion accords with other accounts, it perhaps should not be interpreted too readily in its strictest sense, i.e., that Calvert became a Catholic before the Ambassador's departure from England in 1622. It should be noted too that Calvert had a similarly close relationship to Don Carlos Coloma, Gondomar's successor. In fact, a later tract by Calvert, L[ord] B[altimore], *The Answer of a Catholike Lay Gentleman to the Judgement of a Divine, upon the Letter of the Lay Catholikes to my Lord Bishop of Chalcedon*, was published in St. Omer in Belgium in 1631 appended to a work by Coloma, *The Attestation of the Declaration made by the lay Catholikes of England concerning the authority challenged over them by the Bishop of Chalcedon*.

25. Contarini to the Doge and Senate, March 12, 1627, *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1626-28* (London, 1914), p. 147.

26. D. Carleton to Sir Dudley Carleton, April 4, 1624, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-25. With Addenda*, p. 208.

27. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, January 8, 1625, *The Court and Times of James the First*, [ed. Thomas Birch], 2 vols. (London, 1849), 2: 490. If Calvert were already a Roman Catholic before this time, the fact was certainly not obvious. Even as seasoned a court observer as Chamberlain was able to write to Carleton as late as February 26, 1625, that "Lord Baltimore (which is now his title) is gone into the North, with Sir Tobie Matthew, which confirms the opinion that he is a bird of that feather" (*ibid.*, p. 501 [Matthew was a prominent Roman Catholic who had been ordained a priest on the Continent.]). Similarly, another unnamed but usually well informed correspondent wrote to Rev. Joseph Mead on April 13, 1625: "It is said the Lord Baltimore . . . is now a professed papist" (*Court and Times of Charles I*, 1: 10).

28. These are well treated by John Krugler, "Calvert's Resignation," pp. 239-54.

29. *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland, Charles I*, pp. 36-37. He was granted his title on February 16. He had earlier received from the king lands in County Longford, for which he was obliged to pay an annual rental; on March 11, having surrendered this grant, he was given an outright grant to a considerably larger area. The Secretary was also permitted to accept a substantial *douceur* from his successor as Principal Secretary (John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, February 12, 1625, *Court and Times of James I*, 2: 498). It should be noted that Baltimore did not remain long as a member of the Privy Council; upon the accession of Charles I shortly thereafter, he was excluded, since he could not in conscience take the required oaths (John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, April 9, 1625, *Court and Times of Charles I*, 1: 7-8).



Public life behind him, Baltimore was at last free to turn his interest to his Newfoundland and Irish plantations. It was the former which seems to have occupied his immediate attention, and following the business of his resignation his first thoughts seem to have been of personally inspecting his colony in the New World. On March 15, just four days after the finalization of his Irish land grant, he wrote definitely to Sir John Coke: "I intend shortly, God willing, a journey for Newfoundland to visit a plantation which I began there some few years since."<sup>30</sup> However, this voyage did not materialize, and by the end of May Baltimore had sought and received permission of the king to take up residence in Ireland.<sup>31</sup> His plans may have been forestalled by difficulties of transportation. Because of the war with Spain, the government would release for his use only two vessels, and these were obliged to return to England within ten days of their arrival with a cargo of fish for naval use.<sup>32</sup> But perhaps this was not the only cause. A correspondent familiar with the Court suggested that religion might have been involved too: "Baltimore . . . is now a professed papist; was going to Newfoundland, but is stayed."<sup>33</sup> Whatever the reason, Baltimore's first visit to Ferryland had to be postponed and, as it transpired, did not take place for another two years.

That left Baltimore in 1625 with the pressing problem of securing a governor to succeed Edward Wynne, who had probably left his service not long before. Wynne has been charged with mismanagement.<sup>34</sup> However, this relatively modern accusation does not seem to square with the judgment of his contemporaries. Vaughan, for example, wrote in 1626 that Wynne was "much noted . . . for his personall abode and painefull care in settling the Plantation at Feriland . . . where for the space of 4 yeares hee did more good for my Lord Baltimore, then others had done in double the time."<sup>35</sup> Sir William Alexander, too, has suggested that in 1624 the colony was a thriving concern.<sup>36</sup> Neither does

30. Baltimore to Coke, March 15, 1625 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper*, 2 vols. [London, 1888-90], 1: 187).

31. The king to Lord Falkland, May 29, 1625, *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland, Charles I*, p. 36. The king asked that Baltimore be treated as "one who is parted from us with our princely approbation and in our good grace." The letter mentioned that it was Baltimore's intention to reside in Ireland for some time; apart from a visit to England in 1626 and journeys to England and Newfoundland in 1627, he seems to have lived in Ireland until leaving for Newfoundland in 1628. His residence, however, was not on his lands in County Longford, but at "Cloghamon," Ferns, County Wexford, where he purchased the estate of Sir Richard Masterman (David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, to Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, September 17, 1625, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchant's Quay, Dublin* [Dublin, 1906], p. 81).

32. Duke of Buckingham to Sir John Coke, March 17, 1625, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Cowper*, 1: 187. Another account states: "The ships from the Western ports were forbidden to proceed to Newfoundland till sufficient mariners were provided for the King's service" (Secretary Morton to Secretary Conway, March 19, 1625, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-25*, p. 503).

33. Letter to the Reverend Joseph Mead, April 13, 1625, *Court and Times of Charles I*, 1: 10.

34. D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland: From the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, 2nd ed. (London, 1896), p. 119.

35. Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, pt. III, p. 20. See also Vaughan's *Cambrensiūm Caroleia* (London, 1625), sig. D6, where he states that Wynne spent four winters in Newfoundland.

36. "Master Secretary Calvert hath planted a companie at Ferriland, who . . . have done more than ever was performed by any in so short a time . . . and by the industry of his people, he is beginning to draw back yeerly some benefit from thence already" (William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* [London, 1624], p. 25. See also Richard Eburne, *A Plain Pathway to Plantations [1624]*, ed. Louis B. Wright [Ithaca, N.Y., 1962], p. 139).

Baltimore himself suggest impropriety on his governor's part. It is more likely that Wynne's departure was due to reasons of age or illness. In 1628 he spoke of his "wearie and overytoyled life" that had wrought "an unkinde and untimely effect upon my person, and faculties," and described himself as "now full of yeares and travailes."<sup>37</sup>

To replace Wynne, Baltimore chose another soldier, Sir Arthur Aston of Fulham in Middlesex.<sup>38</sup> It is here for the first time that Roman Catholicism appears to have become a factor in Baltimore's handling of his Newfoundland affairs, for Aston was not only a fellow Catholic but had been recommended for the governorship by Father Simon Stock.<sup>39</sup> Aston went to Ferryland in the spring of 1625, bringing with him a pass from the Privy Council "to transporte himselfe into Newfoundlande to provide hawkes and elkes for His Majesty."<sup>40</sup> It was apparently intended also that a small party of fifteen Catholic settlers should accompany the new governor "so that they might begin to establish the Church there."<sup>41</sup> Whether this came to pass is uncertain;<sup>42</sup> again, transportation might have proved to be a problem.

In this plan Father Simon's hand is much in evidence; the Carmelite priest was determined in his efforts to establish a Catholic presence in Baltimore's settlement and so to secure there for his Church a foothold in British America. When he wrote to inform Rome of Baltimore's conversion to Catholicism, he

37. BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 10<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>, and 9.

38. Aston is an enigmatic figure. He was knighted on July 15, 1604, as Sir Arthur Aston of County Stafford (William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols. [London, 1906], 2: 134). Later the same year he was given a licence for 41 years "to use and sell certain woods used in dyeing" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1610* [London, 1857], p. 146). Little is known of his life until 1621, except that he spent time in Russia, when he was chosen to command the 8,000 volunteers which the Polish Ambassador was allowed to levy in England (Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton, April 23, 1621, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1619-1623* [London, 1858], p. 249). This adventure landed him in trouble, for the Russian Ambassador was soon complaining to the English government of Aston's "several plots and practizes against the State of Russia discovered since his coming from thence." An order was issued for his immediate return to England, where he would receive "condeigne punishment." Sir Arthur proved very unrepentant, however, for on June 6, 1622, he was imprisoned in the Marshalseas for his "indecent behaviour" before the Russian Ambassador. Nevertheless, the Privy Council did not seem to take a too serious view of the whole situation, for his punishment was simply that in future he not serve the King of Poland or any other prince against Russia, and he was released from prison within a fortnight (*Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1621-23* [London, 1932], pp. 180-81, 244, 246, 252). After leaving Baltimore's service, he was engaged in the Duke of Buckingham's campaign in France in the autumn of 1627 and was killed in the retreat from the Isle of Rhé, October 29, 1627 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, Addenda: 1625-1649*, [London, 1897], p. 237). His widow was awarded a pension of £50 a year for life (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1627-1628* [London, 1858], p. 525 [January 22, 1628]). His son, also Sir Arthur, was the Royalist governor of Oxford and commanded the forces opposing Cromwell at Drogheda in the Irish campaign of 1649.

39. "L'insula del quale ho scritto . . . da tanto gusto a quel cavaliere amico mio, che alla prima vera andavana la: che ci ha firmato la: et ho procurato che sia governatore di essa" (Letter of Stock to [Ingoli], October 30, 1625, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 27).

40. *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1625-1626* (London, 1934), p. 20. The pass was issued on April 5, 1625.

41. " . . . ad novam Insulam Avallonium, . . . alios quindecim catholicos profecturos esse, ut ibi eccliam. fundare incipiant" (S. Cong. P.F., *Acta*, 3, f. 218<sup>v</sup>). The reference is to the minutes of the Congregation of May 2, 1625, reporting a letter received from Father Stock.

42. A report to Rome from the English Carmelites later the same year said that the only Catholics then in Newfoundland were Baltimore's agents (*Relazione . . .*, S. Cong. P.F., S.R.C., *America Cent.*, 1, f. 4<sup>v</sup>). This report, however, need not be considered totally reliable. It is also possible that the small group referred to went out with Aston to manage Baltimore's affairs.

was eager to obtain formal approval for the establishment of a mission to Avalon. According to the proceedings of the Propaganda, Father Simon related that for this purpose Baltimore had requested priests of the Carmelite order "whom he would lead out with him to preach the Gospel to the heathens living there, and to thwart the English heretics who have already reached the said Island, lest they infect the people of those parts with heresy."<sup>43</sup> The minutes show that the Congregation of the Propaganda appreciated the significance of this request, for they issued an immediate order for the dispatch to Avalon of suitable Carmelite missionaries, or if these should be unavailable, Jesuits instead.<sup>44</sup>

"Many Catholic friends of mine will go there to live, if we had religious who would go with them," Father Simon told Rome.<sup>45</sup> What Father Simon really envisaged for his Avalon, however, was not simply clergy to care for local needs, but a grand missionary design. Baltimore's settlement would be a missionary outpost halfway between England and the rest of the American colonies, to which priests could venture forth both to convert the Indians and to offset the increasing Puritan presence. Further still, the Carmelite was convinced of the existence of a Northwest Passage. Catholic missionaries established on the shores of Newfoundland would be in a strategic position to take advantage of this easier route to China, the Philippines, and the Indies, and could thus bolster the Church's missions already lodged in these parts.<sup>46</sup>

This alliance between colonization and evangelization was not a dream peculiar to Father Simon. In the early years of the seventeenth century many other Englishmen shared his vision of Newfoundland as England's chief asset in the New World, and this vision included the island's role as a cornerstone of Christianity. As Richard Whitbourne put it, "It is not a thing impossible, but that by meanes of those slender beginnings which may be made in Newfoundland, all the regions neere adjoining thereunto, may in time bee fitly converted to the true worship of God."<sup>47</sup> In 1621 the king went so far as to command Whitbourne's book to be sent to every parish church in England, so as to better encourage the plantation in Newfoundland. Richard Eburne, too, a clergyman, argued along the same lines as did Whitbourne. He wrote of Newfoundland's importance to the conversion of America and set forth the doctrine that "our proper and principal end of plantations is, or should be, the enlargement of Christ's church on earth and the publishing of his Gospel to the sons of men."<sup>48</sup> Eburne spoke of going to plant there himself. Declarations such as these when

43. "Eundemque virum religiosos postulasse, quos secum illuc duceret ad predicandum Evangelium populo gentili ibi degenti, et ad impediendos Anglos Hereticos, qui iam ad dictam Insulam penetrarunt, ne Heresi populum ptum. inficerent" (S. Cong. P.F., *Acta*, 3, f. 208<sup>v</sup> [Congregation of March 22, 1625]).

44. *Ibid.*

45. "Molti catolici amici mei anderanno per vivere la si havessimo religiosi a proposito per andare con loro" (Stock to [Ingoli], December 5, 1625, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 29).

46. See, for example, Stock to [Ingoli], March 7, 1626, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 17<sup>r</sup>, and *Acta*, 3, f. 245-45<sup>v</sup> (Congregation of July 21, 1625).

47. Whitbourne, *Discourse and Discovery*, p. 15. (The Royal Proclamation is printed at the beginning of the 1624 edition.)

48. Eburne, *Plain Pathway to Plantations*, p. 8. See also pp. 137 and 152-53. Eburne included a second dedicatory epistle to Calvert (p. 71). Edward Wynne struck the same note (BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 31-31<sup>v</sup>). On this whole matter see Wright, *Religion and Empire*, especially pp. 134-49.



combined with the Puritan migration to New England would certainly have created a climate for Father Simon's conviction as to the immediate importance of planting Newfoundland with Catholic settlers and missionaries and so denying it to Protestantism as a base.

The priest was no less in step with his times in suggesting the strategic relationship between Newfoundland and the supposed Northwest Passage. Both Whitbourne and Vaughan, for example, also mention this in their consideration of the island.<sup>49</sup> In any case, Father Simon was certainly taken seriously in Rome, which constantly pressed him for details as to the Passage, and directives went out from the Propaganda that the several religious orders should be encouraged to send missionaries to America, because of the possibility of easy transit from there to China and the East.<sup>50</sup>

In the end, Father Simon's plans for Newfoundland faltered only because the few English Carmelites were unequal to the task. They simply had not the manpower for such a mission. One man, Father Elias of Jesus (Edward Bradshaw), actually did come to England from Flanders in the summer of 1625 for the purpose of going to Newfoundland. Father Elias, however, was soon afflicted by the terrible plague which then swept England, and his departure had to be postponed. Father Simon thought that in any event the faculties granted to his colleague were quite insufficient for a mission so far removed from the English bishop.<sup>51</sup> There were other obstacles to contend with as well. The Carmelite Vicar-Provincial for England, Father Bede (John Hiccocks), was dubious about the whole business. He reported to Rome that opposition from Protestants already in the colony would make the mission "completely unprofitable."<sup>52</sup> The immediate question of Father Elias's going, however, was resolved by another agency: in December he was arrested and several months later was deported from England.<sup>53</sup> By 1626 Father Simon alone was available to go to Newfoundland; two of his four fellow Carmelites were imprisoned, the other two ill.<sup>54</sup> Yet despite his advocacy of the mission, he was not prepared to set out under existing circumstances. His work in England would have to be abandoned, he said, for there was no one to replace him, and he felt that no priest should be obliged to travel alone to the New World. He told Rome that to go 2,000 miles without priestly company would be to risk losing his own soul; further, his present faculties would hardly allow him even to say Mass overseas.<sup>55</sup> He was disappointed that despite the Propaganda's directives and promises, sufficient missionaries were not made available; another spring had

49. Whitbourne, *Discourse and Discovery*, p. 16, and Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, pt. III, pp. 41-47. Father Simon, of course, might well have been influenced by such accounts.

50. S. Cong. P.F., *Acta*, 3, f. 245-45<sup>v</sup> (Congregation of July 21, 1625). See also *ibid.*, f. 284-84<sup>v</sup> (Congregation of October 11, 1625).

51. Stock to [Ingoli], October 30, 1625, and December 5, 1625, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 27 and f. 29. On Father Elias, see Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, pp. 95-107.

52. "Et anco quando vi andassero religiosi nostri, . . . gl' l'eretici s'opporranno, e se vi sarà alcun Cattolico non solo non potrà aiutare à ciò, mà averà che fare à conservare sestesso: . . . questa Missione debba essere del tutta infruttuosa" ("Relazione . . .," S. Cong. P.F., S.R.C., America Cent., 1, ff. 4<sup>v</sup>-5).

53. See Zimmerman, *Carmel in England*, p. 101.

54. Stock to [Ingoli], April 22, 1626, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 16<sup>v</sup>.

55. *Ibid.*

come and gone, he complained that year, and still nothing concrete had happened.<sup>56</sup>

For Baltimore, too, this period saw slow progress. Like Wynne, Sir Arthur Aston seems to have been favorably impressed by Newfoundland, for Father Simon reported that the governor had written "marvellous things of that island and of the abundance of fish, an incredible thing. The natives are few and of a gentle nature, causing no harm to strangers, although they are all heathen."<sup>57</sup> Whether Aston was as effective a governor as was Wynne is another matter. Much less is known about the period of his supervision of the colony. Practically the only explicit comment, in fact, comes from the pen of Vaughan:

Sir Francis Tanfield, and Sir Arthur Aston, two generous knights, which to their immortal glory, doe imploy their times in building and manuring that new ground, cannot be spared from their Plantations lest the wild Boares breake into their Gardens.<sup>58</sup>

As a soldier, Aston apparently was well able to deal with the "wild Boares," the "piraticall rovers" who in the 1620s threatened the young Newfoundland settlements. There is evidence for doubting, however, that his general handling of affairs was equally competent. A letter of Baltimore indicates that Sir Arthur was still connected with the Ferryland colony in the spring of 1627; the proprietor wrote that Aston, who was then in England, was delayed from returning to Newfoundland only by the lack of a warrant releasing his ships from the wartime ban.<sup>59</sup> However, Aston ceased to be governor sometime that same year and was killed in October while serving with Buckingham's forces in France. It is not improbable that the governor's retirement and Baltimore's voyage to Newfoundland during the summer of 1627 were related. Baltimore appears to have been much preoccupied by the management of his business there when he determined that a personal inspection of his province could be postponed no longer. As he confided to his friend Wentworth, he was finally journeying to a place he had long wished to visit, but had only now the opportunity. However, it may well have been Aston's administration which prompted him to add: "It imports me more than in Curiosity only to see [it]; for I must either go and settle it in a better Order than it is, or else give it over

56. Stock to [Ingoli], March 7, 1626, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 17<sup>v</sup>.

57. "Et scrive cose maravigliose de quella Insula et dell' abundanza de pesci cose incredibile. L'inhabitanti sono pochi, et di natura benigna, senza fare male alli strangeri, ancorche sono tutti idolatri" (Stock to [Ingoli], October 30, 1625, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 101, f. 27).

58. Vaughan, *Golden Fleece*, pt. III, p. 20. These pirates were also referred to as Dunkirkers and were likely French privateers. Pirate activities in this period are also referred to by Wynne (BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 19<sup>v</sup>-20). Tanfield was governor of the nearby colony of Renews, resettled in 1623 under Lord Falkland's patronage. There is reason to suspect that in the case of piracy, Calvert's lack of trouble may have been a case of his using fire to fight fire. He is on record as having sought clemency for the notorious pirate John Nutt, referring to him as "a poore man that hath been ready to doe mee and my associates courtesies in a plantacion wch. we have begunn in Newfoundland, by defending us from others wch. perhaps in the infancy of that worcke might have done us wronge." (Calvert to Secretary Conway, July 28, 1623, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625*, pp. 82-83.)

59. Baltimore to Edward Nicholas, April 7, 1627, PRO, CO 1/4, 19. (In the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1577-1660*, p. 83, this is dated incorrectly as 1626.)

and lose all the Charges I have been at hitherto. . . .<sup>60</sup> That this was so is supported by words of Robert Hayman, who was in Newfoundland during this period as an agent of the Bristol interests and who wrote in 1628 that Baltimore adventured personally to his plantation "after much injurie done him."<sup>61</sup>

Baltimore's voyage of 1627 also seems to have marked the beginning of concrete efforts to make his new province one in which Catholicism was fully represented. Dr. John Southcote, the archdeacon of the English Roman Catholic bishop, Richard Smith, was conscious enough of the significance of the moment for his Church to record in his notebook for that year: "The first mission into New found land was begun by Mr. Anthony Smith and Mr. Thos. Longville priests of the secular clergy who put to sea the 1 of June and landed there the 23 of July with my lord of Baltimore."<sup>62</sup> The Carmelite mission to Newfoundland had by then failed to materialize. In fact, these first priests to go to Ferryland belonged to no religious order, but as Southcote noted, were seculars or "seminary priests"; their mission to the island was most likely arranged not by Father Simon but perhaps by Southcote himself, who at that time resided with Lady Aston.<sup>63</sup> Baltimore remained in Newfoundland only for the summer months, and when he returned to England, Father Longville<sup>64</sup> sailed with him.<sup>65</sup> However, his companion, Father Anthony Pole<sup>66</sup> (Smith was an alias),

60. Baltimore to Wentworth, May 21, 1627, *Strafforde's Letters*, 1: 39.

61. This is contained in Hayman's proposals for Newfoundland settlement (BM, Egerton MSS, 2451, 164-169). It is also the version given in a Calvert family document of 1670 recounting their colonizing ventures: "In the yeare 1627, his Lordp. transports him selfe from England to Avalon being dissatisfied wth. the Management of his affaires there" (BM, Sloane MSS, 3662, ff. 24<sup>v</sup>-25).

62. "Note-book of John Southcote, D.D., from 1623-1637," *Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea I* (London, 1905), p. 103. One of the Vatican documents said that the priests who went with Calvert were "Dmus. Antonius Rivers et R. Dmus. Thomas à Longavilla," but the former name is certainly incorrect, at least as regards the voyage of 1627 (S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2).

63. *Cath. Rec. Soc., Miscellanea I*, p. 98. Father Simon, however, certainly knew of their going and reported this to Rome (see Stock to [Ingoli], June 27, 1628, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 102, f. 13).

64. Thomas Longville was born near Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire, in 1598, of well-to-do Anglican parents, Sir Henry Longville and Elizabeth (daughter of Sir Robert Cotton). However, after his father's death, his mother married Sir William Windsor, a Catholic; after the banishment of his stepfather from England, Thomas became a Catholic and was educated in St. Omer's College in Belgium. He entered the English College in Rome in 1617 and was ordained a priest in 1626, leaving Rome to return to England the following year. In 1632-33 he seems to have acted as an agent for Bishop Richard Smith in the latter's dispute with the Jesuits, for whom Longville had no liking. Little is known of his later life, although there is one report that in 1640 he acted for the English government in the arrest of the Jesuit, Henry Morse (See *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. Henry Foley, 7 vols. [London, 1880], 4: 284; *Cath. Rec. Soc., Liber Ruber Venerabilis Colegii Anglorum de Urbe* [London, 1940], p. 185; *Cath. Rec. Soc., The Responsa Scholarum of the English College Rome*, 2 vols. [London 1962], 1: 310-11; Joseph Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. [London, 1885-95], 4: 327-28; *Cath. Rec. Soc., Miscellanea I*, p. 103; Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* [London, 1942], pp. 411-12; Philip Carman, *Henry Morse: Priest of the Plague* [London, 1957], pp. 22-23, 24, 142; Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests* [Great Wakering, England, 1975], 1: 202-3).

65. Examination of Erasmus Stourton, October 9, 1628, PRO, CO 1/4, 59.

66. Anthony Pole was born of non-Catholic, middle-class parents in London about 1592, but as a youth he went to Belgium and there became a Catholic. Like Longville, he studied at St. Omer's College. He then went on in 1610 to prepare for the priesthood at the English College at Valladolid in Spain. However, he left there in 1613 to enter the Society of Jesus, which he joined in 1614, probably in Belgium. It is known that he was near the end of his theological course in Liège in 1621, and that by 1623 he was back in England on the Yorkshire mission. At that stage, however, he apparently left the Society and functioned as a secular priest. A warrant for the

stayed behind at Ferryland, thus to become the first Catholic priest to be engaged in a regular ministry in the British territories of America.

Baltimore must have been reasonably content with what he saw at Ferryland in 1627, for soon after his return he made the decision to take up residence there. Royal permission was obtained; in his letter of authorization the king informed Lord Falkland that Baltimore's purpose was to stay there for some time so as to be able to supervise his plantation's growth.<sup>67</sup> In fact, Baltimore's probable intention was to reside in Newfoundland permanently. On this voyage his wife and all his children except Cecil, his eldest, went with him, as did his sons-in-law, William Peasely and Sir Robert Talbot.<sup>68</sup> Before leaving he put his affairs in order. Wentworth was designated as his executor and was reminded of a promise he had made to visit Newfoundland, "though you never meane to performe it." Baltimore's parting words to his old friend reflected this air of finality surrounding his move to the New World. "God send us a happy meeting in heaven," he told Sir Thomas, "and in earth yf it please him."<sup>69</sup>

Baltimore arrived in Newfoundland sometime during June 1628, and brought with him, besides his family and another priest named Hacket, a party of about forty fellow Roman Catholics.<sup>70</sup> The origins of these colonists and their motives for settling in the New World are unknown to us. They probably

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arrest of a "Father Smith" was issued on January 7, 1626. Pole was imprisoned in the New Prison in London, probably until about December, 1626. He was released at the intervention of Marshal Bassompierre, the Ambassador Extraordinary of France, who came to England to conclude arrangements for the marriage of King Charles I to Henrietta Marie. As part of the marriage arrangement, the Marshal had sought the release of Catholic priests who had been arrested. After Pole's return from Newfoundland, he seems to have gone to France for a short time. During 1630-31 he lived in London at the house of the French Ambassador, where he, again like Longville, had by now become anti-Jesuit and active in the campaign of the secular clergy against them. He is the reputed source of the accusation that the Jesuit, John Gerard, was involved in the Gunpowder Plot. Pole returned to France in 1631, and thereafter the details of his career are unclear. He appears not to have maintained contact with his ecclesiastical superiors, for in April 1633 Southcote wrote to Bishop Richard Smith: "I hear no more of Anthony Smith. God send him to be constant in his purpose." Later there exist only rumors of his scandalous conduct, including one that he continued to exercise his ministry as a priest, despite the fact that he had not one wife but two, one a Protestant and the other a Catholic (See *Cath. Rec. Soc., Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589-1862* [London, 1930], pp. 107-8; *Records, English Province, S.J.*, 7: 609; *Cath. Rec. Soc., Miscellanea XII* [London, 1921], p. 179; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1625, 1626*, [London, 1858], p. 215; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1626-28*, p. 63; A. F. Allison, "John Gerard and the Gunpowder Plot," *Recusant History*, 5 [1959-60]: 43-63).

67. The King to the Lord Deputy, January 19, 1628, *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-1632* (London, 1900), p. 305.

68. BM, Sloane MSS, 3662, f. 25.

69. Baltimore to Wentworth, April 17, 1628, *Wentworth Papers*, p. 291.

70. Examination of Erasmus Stourton, October 9, 1628, PRO, CO 1/4, 59. The identity of "Hacket" is something of a mystery. Stourton called him a seminary priest; this accords with Father Simon's account that another secular priest went with Baltimore in 1628 (Stock to [Ingoli], June 27, 1628, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 102, f. 13). However, there does not appear to be any English secular priest of the period of this name, or for whom "Hacket" is an alias of record. If a report to Rome of 1630 can be credited, then one of the secular priests who went with Baltimore was "Antonius Rivers" (S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2). If that were the case, "Hacket" was conceivably Anthony Whitehair, for whom Rivers is a known alias (see Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 2: 354-55). That Hacket was Irish is another possibility, for there were contemporary Irish priests of that name. For example, see Father Paul Raget to Cardinal Sordi, February 12, 1625 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Franciscan Manuscripts, Merchant's Quay*, p. 79).

included Yorkshire recusants,<sup>71</sup> it is possible, at least, that some of them might have been Catholics recruited by Baltimore in Ireland, as his voyage to Newfoundland was made from there.<sup>72</sup> Most likely, however, they were English, for Father Simon wrote that they included several of his "spiritual children."<sup>73</sup>

From beginning to end, Baltimore's residence in Newfoundland was marked by misfortune. As early as August he wrote to the king that he was meeting great difficulties in that "remote wilde part of the worlde."<sup>74</sup> As a result of the war with France his colony had been harassed by French men-of-war. To the Duke of Buckingham he put it succinctly: "I came to builde, and sett, and sowe, but I am falne to fighting with ffrenchmen."<sup>75</sup> Fortunately, fighting Frenchmen was a problem that Baltimore appeared to handle with relative facility, as he also recorded that he had captured six enemy prize ships at Trepassey.

More of his troubles were of a religious nature. It seems to have been the Baltimore policy in Ferryland, as it later was in Maryland, that Roman Catholics, who in any case were a minority, and members of the Established Church should live side by side. Not only had he his priests, but by this time his colony had also its own resident minister. It is probable that the Reverend Erasmus Stourton, described as "Preacher to the Colony of Ferryland," like Father Pole, arrived there during the summer of 1627.<sup>76</sup> As the Nunciature in Brussels reported to Rome in 1630, not without a somewhat scandalized tone: "As to religious usage, under one and the same roof of Calvert, in one area Mass was said according to the Catholic rite, while in another the heretics carried out their own."<sup>77</sup> Nor would Catholics alone have been shocked by such

71. Apart from family and clergy, only two persons are mentioned by name as being with Baltimore in Newfoundland in 1628-29, Thomas Walker and a man named Gascoyne (*Southampton Record Society, Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, ed. R. C. Anderson, 2 vols. [London, 1931], 2: 38-91). Walker was from Yorkshire, and Gascoigne was a prominent Yorkshire Catholic surname. On his 1627 voyage, Baltimore was accompanied by William Robinson of Tinwell in Rutland, Esq. (R. H[ayman], *Quodlibets, Lately Come Over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland* [London, 1628], Book II, p. 36.)

72. The King to the Lord Deputy, January 19, 1628, *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-1632*, p. 305. Baltimore had royal permission to depart from any port in Ireland and to take with him whatever he wanted. Previously (December 31, 1627), he had been given a pass by the king to return to Ireland with his family (*Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1627 Sept.-1628 June* [London, 1940], p. 216). This departure from Ireland is confirmed by the family account of 1670 (see BM, Sloane MSS, 3662, f. 25). Baltimore's letter to Wentworth of April 17, 1628, just prior to his departure, was written from his home "Cloghammen" (*Wentworth Papers*, p. 291).

73. "Li dui ch'andavano l'anno passato furano sacerdoti seculari: et questo anno sono andati delli alt[ri] et con loro quello dal quale ho scritto quando prim[o] scrivena . . . da questa missione et altri fig[li]oli mei spirituali, et li ho dato avviso che stabilita poco la missione . . ." (Stock to [Ingoli], June 27, 1628, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G. 102, f. 13). A report to the Vatican in 1630 said that those who went with Baltimore did so to avoid the wave of persecution in England (see S. Cong., P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2).

74. Baltimore to the king, August 25, 1628, PRO, CO, 1/4, 56.

75. Baltimore to the Duke of Buckingham, August 25, 1628, PRO, CO, 1/4, 57. See also Coakley, "Calvert and Newfoundland," pp. 12-14.

76. Stourton took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1627; however, he seems well acquainted with Newfoundland events of that same summer. For a biography, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I, s.v. "Stourton, Erasmus."

77. "Quod ad usum religionis attinet sub eodem tecto Calverti, in una parte Missa Cathco. ritu fiebat; in alia haeretici sua peragebant" (S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 259, f. 2). Baltimore's "mansion house" has been the subject of some speculation (see J. R. Harper, "In Quest of Lord Baltimore's House at Ferryland," *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 61 [1960]: 106-13). It is

co-existence. Among verses included in the *Quodlibets* addressed from Newfoundland in 1628, Robert Hayman has one dedicated to "my Reverend kind friend, Master Erasmus Sturton, Preacher of the Word of God, and Parson of Ferry Land in the Province of Avalon in Newfound-land":

No man should be more welcome to this place,  
Than such as you, Angels of *Peace*, and *Grace*;  
As you were sent here by the *Lords* command  
Be you the blest *Apostle* of this Land;  
To Infidels doe you Evangelize,  
Making those that are *rude*, *sober* and *wise*  
I pray that *Lord* that did you hither send,  
You may our *cursings*, *swearing*, *jouring* mend.<sup>78</sup>

At the same time Hayman included in his work numerous and vitriolic anti-Catholic lines, among which were the following dedicated "To a Jesuit":

Art thou a *Jesuite*, yet dost us reproach  
With want of *Faith*, ere Luther did his broach?  
Your race was raiz'd, since he preach'd: your new errors  
Are odious to your owne, to others terrors.  
A hated race, spew'd in these latter dayes  
Though fathers cal'd, y'are the *Popes Roring boyes*.<sup>79</sup>

It is little wonder that with attitudes like these prevalent on both sides, Baltimore's noble experiment could not succeed. Perhaps Baltimore himself did not always honor its spirit, as Stourton was to imply later. Perhaps, on the other hand, as "Parson of Ferryland," Stourton was genuinely shocked by the open practice of Roman Catholicism there in defiance of English law. It may have been instead that the colony's patron and its preacher clashed over matters other than religious; Baltimore said vaguely that the minister had been "banished the Colony for his misdeedes."<sup>80</sup> Whatever the reasons, shortly after Stourton arrived back in England in September 1628 he swore out a deposition roundly denouncing the profession of Popery at Ferryland:

About the 23rd of July last these twelve months the Lord of Baltamore arrived in Newfoundland and brought with him two seminary priestes one of them called Longvyll and the other called Anthony Smith which sayd Longvyll returned againe for England with the sayd Lord and afterwarde in this June 1628 my Lord

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pictured in a manner relatively close to Wynne's description of it in an inset on Auguste Fitzhugh's map of Newfoundland (1693; British Museum Add. 5415 [30]), although the siting of it is obviously fanciful. Its location is likely shown with accuracy on a plan of Ferryland drawn by James Yonge in 1663, where it is described as Lady Kirke's (*Journal of James Yonge, 1647-1721, Plymouth Surgeon*, ed. F. L. N. Poynter [London, 1963], plate facing p. 81). Although it is clear from Yonge's map that the present shoreline is somewhat different from that of the seventeenth century, the house is close to the position which Harper posits for it. It is very possible that Baltimore's house was levelled by the French in their destruction of Ferryland in 1696 (See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and the West Indies, 1696-1697*, p. 427).

78. Hayman, *Quodlibets*, Bk. II, p. 102. Hayman was then governor of the plantation of Bristol's Hope (Harbour Grace) in Conception Bay, first settled in 1618.

79. *Ibid.*, Bk. II, p. 11.

80. Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27.



of Baltimore arrived there agayne and brought with him one other seminary prieste whose name is Hacket with the number of forty papistes or thereabout where the sayd Hacket and Smith every Sunday say the Masse and doe profess all other the ceremonies of the Church of Rome in the ample manner as tis used in Spayne. And this deponent hath seene them at Masse and knoweth that the childe of one William Poole a Protestant was baptized according to the orders and customs of the Church of Rome by the procurment of the sayd Lord of Baltimore contrary to the will of the sayd Poole to which childe the said Lord was a witness.<sup>81</sup>

Stourton's charges could have proved damaging to Baltimore's fortunes. They were referred by the king to the Privy Council, and Baltimore took them seriously enough to file a formal defense with that body. To the king he contented himself with writing that "those who go about to supplant and destroy me are persons notoriously lewd and wicked. Such a one is that audacious man who . . . did the last wynter . . . raise a false and slanderous report of me at Plymmouth."<sup>82</sup> (Elsewhere Baltimore referred to his accuser as "that knave, Stourton."<sup>83</sup>) Lord Baltimore feared especially that these reports might harm his chances of obtaining a new grant of land in Virginia, but this proved not to be the case, and in fact, the Council seems not to have acted upon them.

From the apparent inhospitality of land and climate, however, and not from religion, came Baltimore's greatest trials in Newfoundland. The winter of 1628-29 began early. Baltimore described it as lasting from mid-October to mid-May; he said that both land and sea were so frozen the greater part of the time as not to be penetrable.<sup>84</sup> Adequate provisioning may well have been wanting, for as early as February a request had reached the Privy Council from Baltimore asking permission, "in regard of the scarsetie of corne" in Newfoundland, to export thither of "14 lasts of Wheate, and the lyke quantitie of Maulte for the releefe of those of that Plantacion."<sup>85</sup> Baltimore reported later that his house had been a hospital all winter; of his hundred settlers, as many as fifty, including himself, had been sick at one time, apparently from scurvy, and that nine or ten had died.<sup>86</sup>

81. Examination of Erasmus Stourton, October 9, 1628, PRO, CO, 1/4, 59. The document also notes that Stourton was chaplain to Lord Anglesea, Christopher Villiers, and had gone to attend on the Privy Council. In the later legal dispute between the Calvert and Kirke families over the claim to Ferryland, a William Poole, who had been in Ferryland in Baltimore's time there, but who was then resident in Renewes and aged 60, testified that he favored the Kirkes, "by reason Sr. David is a protestant and my Lord of Boltomore a Papist" (Deposition of William Poole, August 24, 1652, in Lewis D. Sisco, "Testimony taken in Newfoundland in 1652," *Canadian Historical Review*, 9 (1928): 246).

82. Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27. Unfortunately, Baltimore's defense addressed to the Privy Council does not appear to be extant.

83. Baltimore to Sir Francis Cottington, August 18, 1629, in Lawrence C. Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish: Lord Baltimore makes his Choice," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 58 (1954): 527.

84. Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27.

85. *Acts of the Privy Council of England. 1628 July-1629 April* (London, 1958), p. 343 (February 25, 1629).

86. Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27. It was Sir William Vaughan who declared the illness to have been scurvy (*Newlanders Cure*, pt. I, p. 67).



"In this part of the worlde crosses and miseryes is my portion." So Baltimore summarized his residence in Newfoundland, to which he referred as "this wofull country, where wth. one intolerable wynter we were almost undone. It is not to bee expressed with my pen what wee have endured."<sup>87</sup> Baltimore could take no more. At the end of the summer of 1629 he sailed southwards for Virginia and sought from the king a grant of land there with the same palatine privileges as he had for his province of Avalon.<sup>88</sup>

Even in departure from Ferryland Baltimore and his settlers were not free of religious troubles. Although his colony in Newfoundland was not abandoned (Baltimore left it under the command of an agent named Hoyle<sup>89</sup>), it seems that all the Catholic colonists, at least, left there simultaneously with their patron.<sup>90</sup> Some of them went with Baltimore and his wife to Virginia, where John Pott, the governor, refused to receive them as planters, since "being of the Romish religion" they would not take the requisite oaths.<sup>91</sup>

87. Baltimore to Sir Francis Cottington, August 18, 1629, Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish," p. 527. It is not uncommonly suggested that it was the choice of Ferryland in particular which led to Baltimore's misfortune and that had his settlement been in a less exposed harbor, he would not have suffered such ill effects. In fact, Vaughan affirmed that this was Calvert's own thinking at the time of his original purchase and that for this reason Calvert himself was insistent upon the inclusion in the purchase of the more sheltered harbor of Aquaforte (about two miles south), in addition to Ferryland. Vaughan said that Calvert was persuaded by some "who had more experience of Fishing than of Wintering" to build at Ferryland instead, "the coldest harbour in the Land" (Vaughan, *Newlanders Cure*, pt. I, p. 68). However, even as late as 1628, Wynne, who had spent at least three winters at Ferryland, recorded his impressions of the Newfoundland winters as being variable, but not hard, one with "scarce anie Ice or Snowe at all." He singled out Ferryland as being pleasant in summer "but bleake in winter," yet still suggested it as one of the three principal harbors for Newfoundland settlement (with St. John's and Trinity) (See BM, Royal MSS, 17 A LVII, ff. 18 and 21<sup>v</sup>). It is probable that in addition to its merits as a fishing station, Wynne found Ferryland attractive because of its good and easily defended harbor and especially the availability there of large pasture lands. In fact, Baltimore's troubles seem not to have come so much from his choice of site as from what must have been, from his description, an uncharacteristically hard winter, coupled with inadequate supplies and a consequently poor diet, which led to illness. Immediately afterwards, Vaughan could write, "Let me intreate you to conceive charitably of our New-Land Plantation, which by one hard Winter, among many more tolerable, is likely to suffer" (*Newlander's Cure*, pt. I, Epistle Dedicatory [unpaginated]).

88. Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27. This is surely Baltimore's initial request for land in Virginia, and the memorial concerning this from Baltimore to Secretary Dorchester (undated), PRO, CO, 1/4, 62, is certainly incorrectly dated in the State Papers as December 1628. It was probably written instead in February 1630 (See Mr. Pory to Rev. Joseph Mead, February 12, 1630, *Court and Times of Charles I*, I, p. 54, and Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish," p. 530). It is a matter of speculation only whether the king's initial reluctance to give Baltimore the grant in Virginia and his advice to the latter to desist from planting and to return to his native country had anything to do with Stourton's charges (see the king to Baltimore, November 22, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 39).

89. Depositions of John Steephens and William Poole, both August 24, 1652, in Sisco, "Testimony in Newfoundland," pp. 242, 245.

90. Baltimore put the number going with him to Virginia at forty (Baltimore to the king, August 19, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 27). In addition, some of his children, Peasley, and Father Pole are known to have returned to England. In 1639 Sir David Kirke implied that no Catholics remained in Newfoundland. "The ayre of Newfoundland agrees perfectly well with all God's creatures," he wrote, "except Jesuits and Schismatics. A great mortality amongst the former tribe so affrighted my Lord Baltimore that hee utterly deserted the country" (Sir David Kirke to Archbishop Laud, October 4, 1639, PRO, CO, 1/10, 40).

91. Governor John Pott, etc., to the Privy Council, November 30, 1629, PRO, CO, 1/5, 40. See also Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, January 23, 1630, *Court and Times of Charles I*, I: 53. Apparently Baltimore accepted the oath of allegiance, but refused the oath of supremacy.

Religion, too, ensured that the return of some of Baltimore's more prominent Catholic colonists to England was not uneventful. A complaint was sworn out in Southampton against Father Anthony Pole (Smith), who had smuggled himself into England under the new alias of Gascoyne, on the grounds that he was "a Seminarye Priest and hath exercised that Office."<sup>92</sup> Obviously, Pole's practice of Roman Catholicism at Ferryland had been quite open. Another relator amplified that "hee knoweth the said Smith to bee a popish priest for that hee saw him bury a dead Corps with burning tapers."<sup>93</sup>

The elusive "Smith" escaped the authorities, but they were able to apprehend an unfortunate named Thomas Walker, "heretofore a Minister of the Church of England," of whom it was charged "that hee was now become a Popish Priest, and . . . that in the voyage outwards while the Companie of the said Shipp were at prayers the said Mr. Walker did whoope and make a noyse to the greate disturbance of the said Companie."<sup>94</sup> When examined, Walker confirmed that "Smith" was indeed a Catholic priest, "out of the new prison in London about 2 yeares since released by Mounsieur Bassampeire and that then hee went to the Newfoundland and there he remayned until now of late." Walker, however, utterly denied the charges against himself. He stated that he was indeed an Anglican deacon but emphasized as strongly as he could "that hee is noe priest neither seculer or Regular nor Jesuite nor Semynarie nor of any order or degree whatsoever by any authoritye derived or pretended to bee derived from the Pope or from the Church or See of Rome."<sup>95</sup> Despite his denials Walker was bound over to appear within the year before a member of the Privy Council in London, and Leonard Calvert and Will "Pasley" (Peasley) were obliged to post a £100 bond on his behalf.<sup>96</sup>

With Baltimore's departure, the hope of a haven for Catholicism in Avalon and the vision of a Newfoundland colony turned landwards rather than to the sea died together. To reckon Baltimore's Newfoundland venture a complete

92. Relation of Stephen Baker, September 14, 1629, *Southampton Rec. Soc., Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, 2: 38-39. What happened to the other priests who went with Baltimore to Newfoundland is unknown. Not only is "Hacket" unaccounted for, but Father Simon Stock reported to Rome in 1629 that two Jesuit priests had also gone there that year (Letters of July 2, 1629, and August 9, 1629, S. Cong. P.F., S.O.C.G., 131, ff. 341 and 343<sup>n</sup>). These priests may, of course, have gone with Baltimore to Virginia. It is interesting to observe that although the first priests to go with Baltimore to Newfoundland were secular priests, the priests who went to Maryland were Jesuits and that in the violent dispute which in this period raged between the secular clergy and the Jesuits, Baltimore later publicly sided with the Jesuits (See L[ord] B[altimore], *The Answer of a Catholike Lay Gentleman*, which was published in 1631).

93. Relation of William Huntresse, September 14, 1629, *Southampton Rec. Soc., Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, 2: 40.

94. Relation of Steven Day, September 14, 1629, *ibid.* Some of the basis of the charge against Walker seems to be that he was known to have frequented Baltimore's house at Ferryland. Walker acted as Baltimore's agent in seeing that the proprietor received his rightful share of the fish taken by one of the ships. The extent of Baltimore's involvement in fishing activities is unclear.

95. Examination of Thomas Walker, September 14, 1629, *ibid.* Walker was the son of a grazier from Giggleswick in Yorkshire. He had taken his B.A. at Cambridge in 1610-11 and had been ordained a deacon by Dr. Harsnett, Bishop of Chichester (1609-19). One of the same name was later rector of Sudborough, Northants., 1631-33, and Vicar of Leamington Priors from 1633 (see John Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905*, 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1910], 1: 264).

96. Proceedings of September 19, 1629, *Southampton Rec. Soc., Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, 2: 41-42. The outcome of his case does not appear to be recorded.

failure, however, is a mistake. It is often forgotten that his colony at Ferryland, though reduced in numbers and no doubt battered in spirit, remained intact, even after his own departure. In fact, Ferryland (and indeed the whole southeastern region of Newfoundland) can trace its settlement in an unbroken line from Wynne's first establishment in 1621 to the present day. As Baltimore himself feared, though, another was soon to reap the profit of the expensive foundation that he had laid there—in this case Sir David Kirke, who received a Royal patent for Baltimore's lands in 1637.<sup>97</sup>

In the long term, perhaps Baltimore's experiment in Newfoundland can be reckoned as profitable in a much more significant manner. For his religious policies there, so out of step with that time, were a harbinger of the future. Baltimore had shared in sounding the death-knell for the prevailing axiom: "*Cuius regio eius religio*." In accepting the practice of more than one expression of Christianity under the same civil government, he had taken one of the first positive steps in the English-speaking world towards recognition of the individual's right freely and openly to profess his religious beliefs. The description of Baltimore's personal convictions in Lloyd's *Worthies* was true also of his public policy: "Though he was a catholick, yet kept he himself sincere and disengaged from all interests; and though a man of great judgment, yet not obstinate in his sentiments, but taking as great a pleasure in hearing others opinions as delivering his own."<sup>98</sup> It was unfortunate that the application of these maxims in Newfoundland was both turbulent and short-lived, and that they were rendered nugatory when the Catholic population departed the island. Baltimore himself died before a new attempt could be made to give effect to them, but the principles he stood for did not. Transplanted by his heirs from Ferryland to Maryland, there they survived, and in a later day flourished.

97. With Kirke the patentees were the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Holland (see PRO, CO, 1/9, 76 [November 13, 1637]). Kirke forcibly seized the mansion house in Ferryland from Capt. William Hill, the agent there of the second Lord Baltimore, in 1638. Sir David resided there until the time of his death in 1654. Despite several rounds of litigation and a clear recognition of the Calvert claim from 1661 to 1665, the property seems, in fact, to have remained in the hands of the Kirke family throughout the remainder of the century, ending up by 1708 in the hands of Mary Benger, whose first husband had been Sir David's son, David Kirke (see *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 1680-1720* [London, 1910], pp. 539-41). The amount spent by Baltimore on the Ferryland plantation has been subject to various estimates, from that of Philip Davies who swore "that the said Sr. George Calvert did expend 12000 ll. as she hath heard the sd. Lord Boltomore speake himselfe" (Examination of Philip Davies, August 24, 1652, in Sisco, "Testimony in Newfoundland," p. 247) to that of £20,000 made by the second Lord Baltimore in 1637 when he asked for protection of the family's rights in Newfoundland (Memorial of Cecil, Lord Baltimore, 1637, PRO, CO, 1/9, 43).

98. Lloyd, *State Worthies*, pp. 750-51.

# Early Folk Architecture of Washington County

PAULA STONER

**T**REES, ROCKS, EARTH, AND THE HUMAN MIND: BRING THEM TOGETHER AND things happen. In the lower Cumberland Valley the vernacular architecture is a result of the blending of the environment and culture.

The Cumberland Valley is a long, narrow strip of land which forms an arc from the Susquehanna River southwestward to the Potomac River. Making up major portions of Cumberland and Franklin counties in Pennsylvania, and Washington County in Maryland, it continues as part of the Great Valley which stretches along the Blue Ridge Mountains into Georgia and Tennessee. The lower terminus of the Cumberland Valley, also called the Hagerstown Valley, lies within Washington County, Maryland. It is bounded on the east by South Mountain and on the west by Fairview, Boyd, and Powell mountains. Two major creeks, the Antietam and the Conococheague, drain the valley. They flow among rolling hills which are liberally studded with limestone outcroppings and wooded areas.

Hagerstown is the major population center in the lower Cumberland Valley. It is also the county seat of Washington County which was established in September 1776 from what was then the western portion of Frederick County, Maryland. Although the lower Cumberland Valley was first settled by people of British and European descent in the 1730s, hunters and traders had traversed the area prior to that time. Most of the permanent settlers who migrated to what is now Washington County came across South Mountain from eastern Maryland or traveled down the valleys from Pennsylvania and the northeast. Probably this latter group comprised the majority of pioneers making their homes in Washington County.

Since William Penn opened his colony to immigrants from Europe as well as Great Britain, particularly the Rhineland and northern Ireland, many of the people who came to Maryland from Pennsylvania were of German or Scotch-Irish descent. The settlers from eastern Maryland tended to be of English extraction. In their homelands, each of these groups, the Germans, Scotch-Irish, and English, had traditional building types which were reflected to some extent in the houses they constructed in the New World. However, few of the settlers who came to Washington County and the lower Cumberland Valley arrived directly from Europe or Great Britain. Rather, they migrated after having lived for a few years or sometimes as long as a generation or more in

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southeastern Pennsylvania, particularly Lancaster County, or eastern Maryland. Since most of these people did not transplant themselves directly from their homelands to the Cumberland Valley, by the time they arrived here their ethnic traditions had begun to become homogenized by the period of residence with other immigrants to the New World. And so we see in the buildings preserved a blending of culture with culture and an adaptation of that blend to the materials at hand.

The pioneers of the Cumberland Valley were confronted with a unique set of environmental conditions. The valley, flanked by mountain walls, offered some protection from extreme weather conditions. The abundance of wood and particularly the ample supplies of native limestone greatly influenced the settlers' architectural expression. In many areas of the valley the soil structure is such that clays of the type used in brick making are present. Wood, stone, and brick show up in early buildings and, generally, in that order chronologically. Also characteristic of the region are the numerous springs of water which are part of the geological structure of the land and which offered convenient supplies of fresh water to the early settlers. They located their houses near and sometimes over these springs.

Few documents remain among Washington County's records which give conclusive evidence of the appearance of the earliest dwellings. One helpful resource is the 1767 inventory of tenements of "His Lordship's Manor of Conogochegue." The "Conogochegue Manor" was surveyed for Lord Baltimore in 1736. At that time the Manor contained 10,594 acres. Located south of present-day Williamsport, it appears to have been the only proprietary manor in Washington County and, for that matter, in western Maryland. This inventory has eighty entries with nearly all buildings described as being of log construction. Dimensions listed show that dwellings were less than thirty feet in length or width. Most had stone chimneys (Figure 1). Another record is that



Figure 1. This undated log structure near Beaver Creek suggests in its form and proportions the log cabin dwellings used by Washington County's early settlers. *All illustrations courtesy the author.*

resulting from the 1798 U.S. direct tax. Although the documents for Washington County have been lost, the tax lists for other parts of the Cumberland Valley are preserved. For Franklin County, Pennsylvania, immediately north of Washington County, the tax reveals that in 1798 the vast majority of its structures were built of log and also were of relatively small size. Log remained popular as a construction material through the nineteenth century and was even utilized for a decade or two into the twentieth century in the Cumberland Valley. Many log houses are still in use in Washington County, although most are sheathed by various forms of siding or bricks (Figure 2).

One of the most striking aspects of the vernacular architecture of the lower Cumberland Valley is the extensive use of native limestone. Research has shown that few areas of the United States have a geological composition similar to that of the Cumberland and Great valleys. Here limestones protrude above the ground's surface, adding distinct markings to the landscape and proving to be the bane of many a farmer who has damaged his machinery on the rocks. Limestone is a relatively soft stone which can be quarried easily. It is also susceptible to water erosion, with the consequence that there are many caverns and underground waterways. This geological phenomenon also accounts for the many springs which surface in the valley.

The use of stone for building purposes has been known for centuries in Germany, England, Scotland, and Ireland. In the New World stone masonry appears to have been particularly prominent in southern Pennsylvania and areas where the Pennsylvania culture was dominant. Since so many of the



Figure 2. Some log houses were quite large in size. Most were sheathed at an early date with weatherboarding, as illustrated by this late eighteenth century example near Sharpsburg.



settlers who came to Washington County migrated from Pennsylvania, it would seem that both ethnic heritage and geological conditions contributed to the popularity of limestone structures.

The 1767 inventory and the 1798 tax list indicate that even the earliest log dwellings in the lower Cumberland Valley utilized stone for the construction of foundations and chimneys, foretelling the later choice of this material as time and affluence permitted. Log was used extensively throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, generally for smaller structures. Limestone was used in some simple cabin forms but it could be adapted easily for larger, more grand and formal buildings.

While stone was employed for the construction of houses and barns during the second half of the eighteenth century, it was most extensively used during the period between 1800 and 1840. Although a small log shelter could be built quickly with relatively little time spent in converting trees to construction materials, the quarrying and dressing of field stone required a greater length of time, more tools, and a number of skilled craftsmen. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the period of initial settlement in Washington County had been concluded. The disruptive influences of the French and Indian War and later the Revolution had ended and the region experienced a time of prosperity. The more relaxed living conditions are reflected in the shift to larger, more formally designed masonry houses.

In general early structures in Washington County were designed to take advantage of environmental conditions. Many builders utilized solar radiation by placing houses against slopes with southern or southeastern exposures. Also popular was the practice of building directly over springs to provide a clean and handy water supply as well as an indoor refrigeration unit (Figure 3).

Several dwelling designs were used extensively for the stone houses built in Washington County and the lower Cumberland Valley during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The cabin form, one story in height with one, two, or perhaps three rooms, has already been mentioned. This type of dwelling was ubiquitous during the eighteenth century. Presumably such structures built of log were listed on the 1767 inventory of Conogochegue Manor. It was logical to continue the design as stone became more widely used.

Among eighteenth century dwellings in Washington County are several displaying the classic Germanic central chimney plan (Figure 4). More formal in appearance is the symmetrical farm house, inspired by the Georgian style, usually five bays in length with a central entrance opening into a stair hall (Figure 5). Another popular group in this region includes structures with four bays or openings across the front elevation, end chimneys, and an off-center front door, or perhaps a pair of front doors side by side (Figure 6). Many of these houses are L-shaped, often with double porches extending to the rear.

The treatment of stones used in Washington County's houses often gives clues to the age of the buildings. Stones used to form the walls may be either coursed, that is, with the units laid in relatively uniform rows, or left as rubble stone, which was rough and irregular. Frequently, finer masonry is associated with the older buildings, particularly those dating from the eighteenth century. As the nineteenth century progressed, larger and less carefully cut stones were





Figure 3. A common practice was constructing houses directly over springs.



Figure 4. Dated 1773 and built by a Henry Funk, this stone house displays the traditional Germanic plan with a central chimney.

used. Further research may reveal why. Generally the better quality stone work is reserved for the principal elevations.

While the builders of these houses made an effort to communicate their impressions of what they believed to be current styles, their renditions tended



Figure 5. Believed to be inspired by the Georgian style is the symmetrically arranged central-entrance farm house. Although this house was built in 1803, similar examples can be seen dating from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries.



Figure 6. Another prominent house plan in the region has four bays or openings across the front elevation with an off center entrance. Examples are found in log, stone, brick or frame construction dating from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

to be simplified and outdated versions. Thus the Georgian form based on a colonial style was used well into the nineteenth century. Stone houses built before approximately 1780 often have segmentally arched window heads of precisely cut stones in upright position (see Figure 4). Later the arches became flat and after the early nineteenth century were frequently omitted. Often a rough water table or narrow projection at the foundation level, is seen on eighteenth century dwellings.

Stone bridges are another mark of the early residents' adaptation to their environment (Figure 7). In the Cumberland Valley, with its ready supply of limestone, such bridges are visible and still in use. Nearly thirty of these structures are still standing in Washington County, providing as a group one of its most valuable architectural and historical resources. The bridges, most of which were built during the first half of the nineteenth century, are constructed of roughly coursed limestone and have segmental arches lined with carefully cut blocks or voussoirs. The arches spring from massive stone piers which have either rounded conical or flattened pyramidal projections called cutwaters.

Stone farm fences are also landmarks (Figure 8). They are constructed of coursed limestones set without mortar and topped with pieces laid diagonally on the upper rim. Seen frequently along the older roads, marking property boundaries or bordering fields, these picturesque walls form an integral part of the area's rural environment.

Brick architecture should also be considered in an outline of the development of Washington County's vernacular building. Although a few isolated eighteenth century brick structures can be seen, brick as a construction material did not come into general use until the nineteenth century, with most examples dating from after 1820 (Figure 9). Usually the bricks were produced locally.



Figure 7. Stone arch bridges, varying from one to five arches in length, are constructed from local stone. Most date from the first half of the nineteenth century.



Figure 8. Walls of native limestone.



Figure 9. Associated with the mid nineteenth century in Washington County are structures with recessed double porches along part of their front elevation. This brick house built by Jonas and Anne Rowland in 1853 is located near Hagerstown.

The use of frame construction was minimal until the late nineteenth century.

Barns appear to have followed a pattern of development similar to houses. The 1767 inventory of Conogochegue Manor and the 1798 tax list for Franklin County record most barns as being small in size and of log construction. A few log barns are still in use in Washington County, although none have been firmly dated. Many large limestone barns were built during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while brick barns generally date from the

middle third of the nineteenth century. The form of Washington County barns is that which has become famous in southern Pennsylvania as the "Pennsylvania Dutch" barn. These structures are quite large and are built into a bank or slope (Figure 10). The foundations are exposed to a full story in height at the front elevation which faces into the barnyard. The animals are kept in the ground level while the upper structure, reached by a ramp or "barn bridge" at the back, is used for storage. End walls of stone barns usually have narrow vertical ventilation slits while brick end barns display decorative geometric patterns for ventilation (Figure 11).



Figure 10. This stone barn, built in 1794, like most Washington County barns is constructed into a bank or slope.



Figure 11. Brick end barns, such as this example near Hagerstown built by John Shafer in 1851, often have decorative openings for ventilation.

Grist and sawmills are also significant vernacular structures in Washington County. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, milling was an important industry in the lower Cumberland Valley where ample water power was available. Gristmilling offered a means for farmers to process their grain while sawmilling developed as the result of the abundant supply of wood. Eighteenth and nineteenth century maps of the area which have been preserved show that numerous mills were in operation along the county's two main creeks, the Antietam and the Conococheague, and along the many tributaries and smaller streams as well (Figure 12).



Figure 12. The mid nineteenth century brick portion of this gristmill located near Keedysville rests atop stone foundations from an older mill.



Figure 13. This complex of buildings represents a grouping of rural vernacular structures and their relationship to each other.

The need for shelter and a means of making a living tested the ingenuity of the settlers and the early residents in the Cumberland Valley. In coping with the environment these people combined previous knowledge learned through generations of experience with guidelines provided locally by nature. They succeeded to the extent that many of their buildings still stand, illustrating the harmony possible between people and nature (Figure 13).





# The National Urban League Comes to Baltimore

RALPH L. PEARSON

SOON AFTER THE NATIONAL LEAGUE ON URBAN CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES was founded in 1911 as a national body, it issued a bulletin, *The Local Organization*, describing how local branches might be established, the requirements for affiliation with the national group, and advantages for local organizations in such an affiliation. Two avenues for alliance were possible. A community organization could seek formal affiliation as a branch of the national body or the National League itself might establish a "standing committee" in cities where there is no existing organization which has affiliated or may be affiliated with the National League." Individual members of the League residing in the city served as members of this "standing committee."<sup>1</sup>

The Baltimore Urban League was founded on the initiative of a local group of white and black citizens. A Baltimore league publication recalled that "Its earliest roots go back to the 1919 Hague Conference on World Friendship which was the first volunteer gathering of representatives from the warring nations after World War I." Motivated by a desire to improve the health and welfare of blacks, as well as to promote better racial attitudes, the Reverend Peter Ainslie, a Baltimore clergyman, returned from this meeting to organize the Interracial Conference.<sup>2</sup>

Ainslie, a Disciples of Christ clergyman, came to Baltimore in October 1891 as pastor of the Calhoun Street Christian Church. He remained with the congregation until his death in 1934, a period during which a new church, known as Christian Temple, was constructed on Fulton Avenue. A prominent figure in the international movement for Christian unity during the second and third decades of the twentieth century,<sup>3</sup> Ainslie worked as diligently in his adopted city to improve the social environment. His organization of the Interracial Conference reflected his particular concern with the relationship of blacks and whites.

Joining Ainslie in leadership was John R. Carey, founder and chairman of the Board of Directors of Provident Savings Bank. Both men realized quickly that the Interracial Conference had very little knowledge of Baltimore's black community beyond the impressions of conference members. Consequently,

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1. [National Urban League], *Bulletin of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes: Methods of Work and Principles. The Local Organization*, [New York] 3 (1913): 6-7.

2. Baltimore Urban League, *Twenty-five Years of Interracial Teamwork in Action* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 4.

3. See, for example, Peter Ainslie, *If Not a United Church—What?* (New York, 1920).

Ainslie and Carey asked the National Urban League to conduct an in-depth sociological study of working conditions among Baltimore's black citizens.<sup>4</sup>

In 1921 the National League had established a Department of Research and Investigations to examine black and white relationships in cities where League branches might be formed, and to study black social and economic needs in cities with no League branches.<sup>5</sup> Since Baltimore fulfilled both requirements, a League team headed by Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Department, began a three-month investigation of Baltimore industries and black workers in March 1922.

In an article entitled "To Make Industrial Survey of Baltimore," the *Afro-American* detailed the local participants and the aim of the study:

The work will come under the auspices of the Industrial Committee of the InterRacial Conference headed by Dr. Broadus Mitchell, white, of Johns Hopkins University, its chairman, and Dr. B. M. Rhetta, vice chairman. The aim is to discover the number of colored people employed in the industrial plants of the city, kinds of positions in which they are employed, wages, working conditions, and hours of employment. With this information in hand it will be possible to take necessary steps toward bringing about an improved condition among workers in the city.

The City Board of Trade and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association will cooperate in the survey both by contributions for the work and by leaders securing entrance for Mr. Johnson to the big manufacturing plants. Students of Johns Hopkins University and the Baltimore High School will cooperate in the work. Morgan State students were asked, but Dr. Spencer declined, explaining that they would not have sufficient time.<sup>6</sup>

Baltimore was not the only city which, discovering its black population increasing rapidly in the 1920s as the result of migration from rural areas, realized quickly it knew very little about either native or recently arrived blacks. Indeed, as the black population became more prominent in community statistics (not only in terms of population growth, but also in terms of social maladjustment) in the twenties, more and more cities asked the League to survey their black populations. In their history of the National Urban League Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks observed,

... Johnson studied communities in Hartford, New London, and Waterbury, Connecticut; Baltimore, Maryland; Morristown, Plainfield and Trenton, New Jersey; Akron, Ohio; and Westchester County, New York . . . . These studies were trailblazing events for the communities because they revealed, often for the first time, the actual conditions within the black community and the specific points that were most sensitive between the races—from the standpoint of the Afro-Americans themselves. Equipped with a bill of particulars developed by the survey a local community could set its course. Many cities moved to organize local Leagues as a result.<sup>7</sup>

4. Baltimore Urban League, *Twenty-five Years*, p. 4.

5. National Urban League, *A Quarter Century of Progress in the Field of Race Relations, 1910-1935: Twenty-fifth Anniversary Souvenir Booklet* (New York, 1935), n.p.

6. "To Make Industrial Survey of Baltimore," *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 24, 1922.

7. Guichard Parris and Lester Brooks, *Blacks in the City: A History of the National Urban League* (Boston, 1971), pp. 168-69.

The Urban League limited its survey of the Baltimore black community to industrial relations. "This, it was felt, was a subject about which least was known," Johnson wrote, "and in the improvement of which there was most likelihood of inter-racial cooperation."<sup>8</sup> One might suggest also that the supporters of the study felt that if the economic position of Baltimore's black community could be improved, problems such as health, family stability, crime, and housing might be resolved more easily.

Those who conducted the survey concluded that Maryland's border state location determined many aspects of the city's racial mores. Baltimore's industrial development resembled that of cities to the North, but its geographic location, industrial dependence upon the South, and affinity for Southern customs "tended to exaggerate differences and keep racial issues in the foreground." In fact, lines of racial demarcation were not as rigidly established as many Baltimoreans desired. For example, early twentieth century efforts to disfranchise blacks had failed,<sup>9</sup> while the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional in 1917 Baltimore's famous 1910 housing segregation ordinances. Of course, as Margaret Law Callott observes, failure of the disfranchisement movement brought other restrictions: "Although disfranchisement failed in its major purpose in Maryland the movement took its toll in discriminatory legislation against the Negro. The most important byproduct of the movement was the Jim Crow laws that segregated public transportation in the state."<sup>10</sup>

Baltimore's economic life made interracial contacts a stronger possibility than in less industrialized cities to the South; therefore, greater precautions were taken in Baltimore to prevent such contact on any level. As the League found, reticence about interracial associations went beyond economic and residential contacts:

Until very recently the occasions on which whites and Negroes came together for a discussion of mutual problems have been rare and outside the popular estimate of good taste. The sentiments of the far south have been there, but without the sympathy frequently manifested by certain of the influential white leaders of that section. White persons as a rule, do not attend the meetings of Negroes . . . . Similarly, it is extremely rare that Negroes get an opportunity to attend the meetings of the whites, hear their deliberations and profit from them. The backwardness of the Negro group in social welfare programs may be in large measure attributed to this isolation.<sup>11</sup>

Isolation of the races meant that most white Baltimoreans were unaware of, let alone cared about, conditions in the city's black community. In his 1913 study "Conditions Among Negroes in the Cities," George Edmund Haynes included Baltimore's black ghetto with those developing in other large American cities in the first two decades of the twentieth century: "New York has its 'San Juan Hill' in the West Sixties and its Harlem district of over 35,000 within about eighteen city blocks; Philadelphia has its Seventh Ward; Chicago has its

8. Charles S. Johnson, "Negroes at Work in Baltimore, Md.," *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, 1 (June 1923): 15.

9. Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics* (Baltimore, 1969), chapter 5.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

11. Johnson, "Negroes at Work," p. 12.

State Street; Washington its North West neighborhood, and Baltimore its Druid Hill Avenue."<sup>12</sup> As indicated below, until the decade of the 1920s the proportion of blacks in Baltimore's total population remained relatively constant:

	Total Population	White	Black	Black Percent of Total
1900	508,957	429,221	79,258	15.6
1910	558,485	473,387	84,749	15.2
1920	733,826	625,130	108,322	14.8
1930	804,874	662,124	142,106	17.7

With this precipitous growth in the black population in the twenties, blacks became more conspicuous to the white Baltimoreans, and their social, economic, and physical maladjustments had greater community impact. The response of most of the community was to isolate blacks into sections such as the congested district bounded by Pennsylvania and Druid Hill avenues, Preston and Biddle streets. A few responded by supporting the N.A.A.C.P., the Interracial Conference and, eventually, the Baltimore Urban League.

An Urban League study conducted in the early 1930s concluded that about 60 percent of the blacks who moved to Baltimore between World War I and 1928 came from Maryland itself. Baltimore was unique in its pattern of black immigration, for in southern cities such as Richmond a larger percentage of the black population came from within the state, while in northern cities a much smaller proportion was native to the state.<sup>13</sup>

The quality of life for Baltimore blacks in the 1920s and 1930s is comparable in its degradation only with that of other black urban communities. Scott Nearing, for example, wrote in 1929: "In Washington, within sight of the capital, there are hundreds of wooden shacks and shanties in which Negroes are crowded together under conditions of slum living that would shame any twentieth century municipality. Housing conditions surrounding the Baltimore Negro are only slightly better than those which exist in Washington."<sup>14</sup>

The health of Baltimore blacks was equally bad. For example, during 1925 the death rate of white Baltimoreans was 12.84 per thousand, that of blacks 24.88 per thousand. Diseases such as tuberculosis were especially devastating upon the black community. Again, in 1925, the black death rate from TB was 358 per one hundred thousand while the white rate was 82. Soon after its organization, the Baltimore Urban League published under the title *Study of the Death Rate of the Baltimore Negro* results of a survey which documented not only the greater susceptibility of blacks to diseases and early death than whites, but also the lack of adequate health care facilities for the race. Enlightened self-interest should have impelled the total community to care for the health of all its citizens, but in the 1920s, with a noticeably increasing

12. George Edmund Haynes, "Conditions Among Negroes in the Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 49 (September 1913): 109.

13. Ira DeA. Reid, *The Negro Community of Baltimore: A Summary Report of a Social Study Conducted for the Baltimore Urban League thru the Department of Research, National Urban League* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 9.

14. Scott Nearing, *Black America* (New York, 1969 edition), p. 122.

black population, racial stereotypes and fears were more compelling arguments to white Baltimoreans for ignoring the needs of one-sixth of its population.

Segregation of the races extended beyond housing and health facilities to include many commercial establishments, as well as institutions for recreation and education. When Ira DeA. Reid described in the mid 1930s Baltimore's educational facilities for black children he compared them with another black school system and with improvements which had been made between 1920 and 1933:

With the possible exception of Washington, D.C., Baltimore has the most elaborate school set-up for Negroes in the United States. The 38 colored schools are supervised by the Division of Colored Schools. . . . There is an average of 367 colored pupils to every 10 Negro teachers. In white schools, there are approximately 324 pupils to every ten teachers.

Vast improvements have been made in the physical facilities of the colored schools in the past fifteen years. Gone are the half-time instruction, the inadequate equipment and unsanitary conditions of 1920.<sup>15</sup>

While racial discrimination was largely responsible for physical degradation and social maladjustments such as high incidents of juvenile delinquency, illegitimate births, and adult arrests, its most severe effect was depriving blacks of employment opportunities. If adequate jobs could be secured, problems such as health, family stability, crime and housing—all interrelated with one another and with low economic returns—might be confronted more successfully. As Ira DeA. Reid argued in his 1935 study of Baltimore blacks, "The job is the all important thing to an economically poor group. Mere survival demands that it seek the surest means of providing some kind of a livelihood."<sup>16</sup> Consequently, when the Interracial Conference invited the National Urban League to Baltimore in 1922 to study economic opportunities for blacks it did so with the belief that job opportunities affected the quality of life of black citizens, and with the expectation that information about economic deprivation among blacks might be the impetus for greater interracial cooperation in opening the doors of Baltimore's industries.

In 1920 there were 337,754 Baltimoreans employed. Of that number, 270,678 were white, 66,763 black (39,870 male; 26,893 female) and 313 other races.<sup>17</sup> Half of all employed blacks worked in the area of domestic services, a figure which indicates clearly the lack of opportunities. The policies of industries toward hiring blacks were both opportunistic and erratic:

There were plants employing Negroes for certain grades of work and others refusing for reasons adequate and sufficient to each respectively. Some of the plants have what they call 'labor policies' which summarily exclude all Negroes as below the standard for workers; others with the identical process regard them as

15. Reid, *The Negro Community*, p. 23.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

17. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, vol. 4: *Population: Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1923), p. 368. Of the total black population, at least 61 percent was employed. The percentage of employed in the entire Baltimore population was 46 percent, that of the nonblack population being 43 percent. The greater percentage of blacks employed reflects clearly the need most black families felt to have as many working hands as possible.

best fitted for their work. No standard appears to be observed; no objective basis for selecting a labor supply seems to exist.<sup>18</sup>

Industries in which blacks predominated—for example, the fertilizer, tanning, and brick-making industries—shared certain features which opened them to black employees: a white labor supply was unavailable, frequently because these were considered “Negro jobs”; black workers were cheaper and better than the type of whites attracted to such jobs; or the seasonal character of the work made the manufacturer seek a readily available group of laborers. Even in industries which employed blacks for the performance of special processes, however—steel mills and shipbuilding, food, clothing, glass manufacturing—the work done by them was usually unskilled or semiskilled labor. In fact, the League found that the proportion of Negroes employed “increased usually with the amount of unskilled work connected with the industry.”<sup>19</sup>

Of special concern to League investigators were those Baltimore plants which excluded black employees entirely. Of the 175 plants studied, 62, employing 20,735 workers, refused to hire blacks. While plants within a single industry frequently had contradictory hiring practices, the League found that where the establishment required primarily skilled and semiskilled workers and only a few common laborers, blacks were excluded even from the latter positions. A pattern of causes for exclusion did emerge, however, from the sundry “explanations” Baltimore firms offered: traditional nonemployment of blacks; the fear of racial problems—and unforeseen labor difficulties for the firm—if both races worked in the same plant; long held beliefs concerning the mental capacities and character traits of blacks which caused scepticism about their ability to perform certain tasks; and the power of labor unions.<sup>20</sup>

As in most industries since the origin of effective labor unions, Baltimore’s unions presented a particularly difficult barrier to black economic advancement. The black worker became a tool used by both unions and employers in their continuing struggle to protect their respective interests. “In the unionized crafts he may not work unless he belongs to a union, and the most frequent, specious argument advanced by unions is that he cannot become a member unless he is already employed.” In closed shops he could not be employed unless already in the union. “The result is frequently that he neither gets a job nor joins a union.” But the League also noted that in open shops, where the employer was supposedly free to hire whom he pleased, black men were generally excluded as effectively from skilled and semiskilled positions as in closed shops. Employers frequently used, or threatened to use, black labor to break union strikes; after they had served their purpose, however, blacks were generally dismissed. “Bitterness of feeling between the white and Negro workers as a result of these tactics is inevitable,” the League lamented.<sup>21</sup>

Thus the black worker in Baltimore could turn neither to union nor to employer in his fight for economic opportunity. In fact, the last paragraph of

18. Johnson, “Negroes at Work,” 15.

19. *Ibid.*, 15–18.

20. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

21. *Ibid.*, 19.



the League's summary report betrays a sense of despair about the future prospects for black workers in the city:

The experiences of employers of Negro labor indicates that in the majority of instances, satisfactory results have been obtained. There is, however, a disposition to avoid breaking with the tradition of using Negroes only for certain grades of work. The Negro population on the other hand, while chaffing [*sic*] under these restrictions, is immersed in the community's policy of conservatism and their protests weak and scattered, as a result, have little effect.<sup>22</sup>

This investigation was the first contact of the National Urban League with Baltimore's racial environment. In fact, the study was unquestionably the first systematic, sociological analysis of employment patterns among Baltimore's black citizens. "The recommendations growing out of this study resulted in the founding of the [Baltimore] Urban League into which was merged the work of the Baltimore Interracial Conference."<sup>23</sup> But almost a year elapsed between the publication of Johnson's report in *Opportunity* and the announcement that a local League was to be formed. During that year the League sent representatives to Baltimore to solicit support, as well as to discuss its work with local citizens, lodges, and churches. One visitor from the national office was its Extension Secretary, Mr. J. R. Lee. As if to underscore local support for a Baltimore branch of the League, the *Afro-American* printed detailed lists of the individuals and groups with whom Lee was meeting:

In addition to calling upon individuals [at least forty names] and religious organizations [for example, the Sharp Street M. E. Church, Sanai (*sic*) Baptist, Shiloh Baptist, Macedonian Baptist, First Colored Baptist, Metropolitan Baptist, Leadership Baptist, Enon Baptist], through the interest of Past Grand Master Joseph Evans and Grand Master Willard W. Allen and of various worshipful masters, Mr. Lee has had responses from a number of Masonic Lodges. The Knights and Daughters of Honor under the direction of Mrs. Mosley and the Order of Moses with the sanction of Grand Master Bond, have given their support.

Mr. Lee will visit the various Pythian Lodges and Courts of Calanthe during the coming weeks.<sup>24</sup>

Finally on May 9, 1924, the *Afro-American* announced the formation of a local Urban League.

Definite steps to organize a branch of the National Urban League in Baltimore were taken Wednesday night by a group of white and colored men and women who met at Emmanuel Church Parish House.

The meeting was called by Mr. John R. Carey, and consisted of a group . . . interested in local welfare work, [who] empowered a committee to formulate a tentative program and budget for the initiation of the work here.

Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive of the National organization, was present to outline the work of the League and following his address the body voted unanimously to start the movement here.<sup>25</sup>

22. *Ibid.*

23. Baltimore Urban League, *Twenty-five Years*, p. 4.

24. "Many Contribute to the Urban League," *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 25, 1924.

25. "Urban League is Planned Here," *ibid.*, May 9, 1924.



The *Baltimore Afro-American* welcomed enthusiastically the establishment of a League branch in the city. When the announcement was made in early November that the local League planned to start operations within a few weeks, the newspaper described it as "one of the most important facts, so far as the colored group is concerned, that has happened this year." Particularly important to black Baltimoreans, it felt, was the League's work in seeking to open new job opportunities: "Here in Baltimore where the prospect of young men and women coming from our schools and growing up in our industries is so limited, this phase of the work ought to be of interest to every mother and father. It will be of vital interest to business men of our race in that the opening of new avenues of employment also means a larger spending capacity." For if the black community could solve its economic problems, *Afro-American* readers were told, "we automatically solve 90 per cent of the welfare problems."<sup>26</sup>

The perceived relationship between solving the black community's economic problems and solving its welfare problems attracted a number of prominent black and white Baltimoreans to the League as members of its executive and advisory boards. Nineteen citizens sat on the first executive committee, which was chaired by Johns Hopkins economist Dr. Broadus Mitchell. John Carey chaired the finance committee. Prominent black members of the executive committee included Dr. Beale Elliott; Mrs. Lillian Lottier, secretary of the committee and president of the local N.A.A.C.P. chapter; William Nesbit Jones, editor of the *Afro-American*; and Dr. Barrett Milton Rhetta, a local physician.<sup>27</sup>

Twenty-nine local citizens agreed to assist the new League by serving on its advisory board. In addition to clerical members such as the Reverend Peter Ainslie and the Reverend Arthur J. Payne, pastor of Enon Baptist Church, a few other prominent citizens on the advisory board were *Afro-American* publisher Carl J. Murphy; lawyers W. Ashbie Hawkins, William L. Fitzgerald (elected to the City Council in 1919), and Ray Statogia Bond; social worker and founder of the Baltimore Cooperative Civic League, Mrs. F. A. Fernandis; A. Jack Thomas, Director of Music at Morgan College; and Bernard C. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. Among others, the participation of the Reverend Ainslie, John R. Carey, Broadus Mitchell, and Dr. Rhetta on League boards provided the local League with its direct lineage from the Interracial Conference. These four individuals undertook special roles in originally inviting the National League to Baltimore to undertake the industrial survey and in making local citizens, groups, and industries accessible to League investigators.

While the National Urban League's emphasis upon the relationship of economic and social problems persuaded the community leaders to support a local branch, they were attracted to the League, too, by its methodological

26. "R. M. Moss Picked to Head the Local Urban League," *ibid.*, November 8, 1924.

27. The following were also on the Executive Committee: Miss Elsie M. Mountain; Mrs. Anita Williams; Attorney Lewis J. Flagg, Jr.; S. S. Booker; C. Ernest Baker; Benjamin Schwartz; Miss Dorothy Pope; Miss Dorothy Kahn; Thomas Y. Clark; Emory Niles; Richard P. Carey; Howard C. Hill; Dr. M. R. Carroll.

approach to interracial relations. Reflecting attitudes characteristic of the social justice movement during the progressive era, the League brought to Baltimore a reasoned, scientific approach to race relations. In her study of the National Urban League, Nancy J. Weiss described the relationship of the Urban League and progressivism in this way:

Whether of war or diplomacy, the torches of both the NAACP and the Urban League came straight from the progressive mold. . . . The Urban League's development of scientific social investigation of conditions of city life is a case in point. It aligned the organization with those reformers who insisted on ascertaining the facts as a basis for sensible social reform. A dedication to scientific investigation typified most reform movements of the Progressive Era. An accurate perception of social need, rather than mere emotional or sentimental fever, was to be the motivation for social change.<sup>28</sup>

Local League supporters assumed that the use of sociological tools would uncover facts about race relations, and the black race in particular, which could be used to argue for equal economic and social opportunities for the city's black community. By extension, this approach assumed, of course, that individuals were basically rational beings who, though occasionally needing a little persuasion to convince them of the validity of the facts, would ultimately let the evidence guide their attitudes and actions.

Such a reasoned approach to Baltimore's racial problems attracted educators, ministers, and other professional men and women of both races. As attractive was the goal of this approach: "not to overturn the American system, but to win a place in it for blacks. They wanted to take American democracy at its word, and they saw the promise of the American Creed as broad enough to include American Negroes."<sup>29</sup>

One of the first tasks confronting the executive committee was the employment of an executive secretary. The local search committee, composed of John R. Carey, Mrs. Lillian Lottier, Dr. M. Carroll, and William M. Jones, accepted the recommendation of the National office and employed Mr. R. Maurice Moss. Mr. Moss's background exemplified the National League's conviction that professionally trained social workers formed the most effective liaison between the black community and the white-controlled general community within which blacks sought equal opportunity. A Columbia B.A., Moss had studied at the New York School of Social Science on a National Urban League fellowship, then had launched an impressive career, which included the development of the Frederick Douglass Community Center in Toledo, Ohio, and subsequently a position with the Department of Research and Investigations of the National League.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1920s the National Urban League became first a temporary, then a permanent part of Baltimore's interracial community. A brief look ahead gives us some sense of its achievements during its first decade. When assessing

28. Nancy J. Weiss, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940* (New York, 1974), pp. 67-68.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

30. "R. M. Moss Picked to Head the Local Urban League," *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 8, 1924; and "Urban League Secretary to Begin Work," *ibid.*, December 20, 1924.

League activities, however, one should recall that by the spring of 1926 it was beginning to deal with an economic depression for blacks which would not hit white Americans until 1929-30. For example, in February 1927 the local office cancelled plans for a March Negro in Industry Week. Maurice Moss explained the action in a letter to T. Arnold Hill, director of the Department of Industrial Relations in the national office: "It is an art to get a man a job just now . . . ; it would be an impossibility almost to get him a better one."<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, eight years after its founding the League could point with pride to its impact upon the community. Its exposure of inadequate hospital facilities for blacks had been instrumental in the development of Provident Hospital, hailed as one of the best in the country by the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. Its highly publicized investigation of conditions in the area bounded by Druid Hill and Pennsylvania avenues, Biddle and Preston streets, the so-called "Lung Block Survey," resulted in some improvement for the area and had won "highly commendatory comments from social experts in all parts of the United States." After convincing city officials of the relationship between leisure time and crime, as well as health, the League had secured funds to organize a black division of the Playground Athletic League. With this support black specialists in music, dramatics, and social and civic activities directed a varied program, including "A summer camp for one hundred boys, a better homes' demonstration and an open air music festival." Finally, hoping to increase employment opportunities for young blacks, the League, with the cooperation of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, surveyed black businesses in the city and sought to stimulate expansion where possible.<sup>32</sup> Of this total effort and of the response of Baltimore blacks to the League, a Baltimore *Evening Sun* reporter wrote in 1935, that in responding to the needs of blacks in the city, "no force has been more effective than the educated, intelligent and public spirited groups within the Negro population" who work "through the Urban League."<sup>33</sup>

But while such plaudits of the League and its efforts were deserved, the social, economic and physical conditions of Baltimore's black community continued to deteriorate, exacerbated by the nationwide depression. As a result, in the mid 1930s the Baltimore League asked the National Urban League to return to the city for a comprehensive study of race relations. The introductory paragraph of the National League's summary report of its findings capsules the purpose and need for the study:

All contemporary evidence pointed to serious economic and social handicaps being faced by Baltimore's colored population in its quest for security, and by the total community in its efforts to effect these adjustments. The Baltimore Urban League . . . felt that it needed the orientation a social survey would make

31. Moss to Hill, February 24, 1927, National Urban League papers, quoted in Weiss, *National Urban League*, pp. 237-38.

32. "Urban League Gathering This Week," *Baltimore Sun*, February 21, 1932. For a self-evaluation statement of the local League's accomplishments during its first quarter century of operations, see Baltimore Urban League, *Twenty-five Years*, p. 6.

33. Clark S. Hobbs, "Negroes and the Community," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, November 20, 1935, quoted in Weiss, *National Urban League*, p. 303.

possible. The gathering, coordination and interpretation of the social facts of life, it was believed, would be of material importance in any constructive approach to Baltimore's problems of social welfare.<sup>34</sup>

This time the League team, led by Mr. Ira DeA. Reid, did not restrict itself to the conditions blacks faced in Baltimore's industries. Rather it included within the scope of its investigation all areas of the black community's social and economic life. But that is another chapter in the history of the Urban League in Baltimore.

The approach to race relations which the National Urban League brought to Baltimore in the 1920s was a valuable, necessary tool in the struggle of the black race for equality. But the approach was only that—a tool. Sociological studies of the black community and of the racial environment of the larger community yielded facts, but such studies could not force individuals to act in accordance with those facts. The rational, scientific orientation of the League toward race relations might influence the few in the community who tried to guide their actions and attitudes by evidence; however, to the majority such scientific studies were meaningless. Consequently, although the League's methodological approach to the social and economic problems of the black community was one which ideally should have brought an improved interracial environment, its impact was weakened by its inability to counter the emotionalism which was the essential determinant of racial attitudes.

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34. Reid, *The Negro Community*, p. 5.

# Women in Relief: The Carroll County Children's Aid Society In the Great Depression

PATRICIA W. AND RALPH B. LEVERING

IN A RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR., NOTED that "for the most part historians still regard the 1930s as the era of FDR and the New Deal."<sup>1</sup> Such a perspective overlooks the third of the decade before Roosevelt took office and the even longer period before most New Deal programs had their full impact at the local level. Furthermore, as Bernard Sternsher has pointed out, there has been a tendency to neglect local history as a means of understanding the varied responses of communities to the Great Depression.<sup>2</sup> And even where local communities have been studied, they almost invariably have been large cities (e.g., Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, and New Orleans) in which local resources frequently were exhausted by early 1932.<sup>3</sup> By concentrating on the relief work of a voluntary organization in a largely rural county in central Maryland during the early 1930s, we seek to provide some insights into these relatively neglected areas. The question of how people coped in the years before government was effectively mobilized to help is the focus of this study.

Located in the piedmont midway between Baltimore and Frederick, Carroll County in 1930 had a population of 35,978, the eighth largest of Maryland's twenty-three counties.<sup>4</sup> The county had diversified agriculture, mostly grains

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1. Otis L. Graham, Jr., "The Age of the Great Depression, 1929-1940," in William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr., eds., *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1973), p. 491.

2. Bernard Sternsher, ed., *Hitting Home; The Great Depression in Town and Country* (Chicago, 1970), p. 36. "Its [local history's] neglect is quite apparent in the case of the Great Depression," Sternsher writes. "In general, historians have focused on the Hoover administration, emphasizing the formulation of policy and its effects from the standpoint of men in Washington looking outward across the nation, or of men across the nation fixing their sight on the national capital" (*ibid.*, pp. 36-37).

3. See, for example, Bonnie Fox Schwartz, "Unemployment Relief in Philadelphia, 1930-1932: A Study in the Depression's Impact on Voluntarism," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (January 1969): 86-108; Bruce M. Stave, "Pittsburgh and the New Deal," and Lyle W. Dorsett, "Kansas City and the New Deal," in John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody, eds., *The New Deal*, 2 vols. (Columbus, 1975), 2: 376-419; and Roman Heleniak, "Local Reaction to the Great Depression in New Orleans, 1929-1933," *Louisiana History*, 10 (Fall 1969): 289-306. Albert U. Romasco provides a useful discussion of social welfare problems in the early 1930s, focusing on New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, in his *The Poverty of Abundance; Hoover, the Nation, the Depression* (New York, 1965), pp. 143-72.

4. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, III, Part I, 1052-54.

and livestock; numerous small towns with a few scattered industries, mostly in Westminster (pop. 4,463), the county seat; and a tradition of self-reliance and community pride. With a relatively stable population after the 1890s due to outmigration to the burgeoning cities, and with depressed prices for farm produce beginning in the early 1920s, the county by 1929 was not unlike many other rural areas throughout the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Before comprehensive state and federal social welfare programs were developed in the mid 1930s, responsibility for aid to the destitute in Maryland, as in most other parts of the country, had been assumed largely by private, voluntary organizations.<sup>6</sup> One such organization was the Maryland Children's Aid Society, founded in 1911 by leaders of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society of Baltimore to provide services to needy children in rural areas of the state. Between 1911 and the mid 1930s twelve county or district offices were established, serving most parts of the state. Being in the business of caring for needy children and seeking to improve their home environments, the Carroll County Children's Aid Society readily perceived the effects of the Great Depression on local families. And being the only welfare agency well-organized and county-wide in its outreach, the Carroll County branch quite naturally assumed the additional duties of relief work. In so doing, the Children's Aid Society became the most important organization in helping Carroll Countians survive the Great Depression.<sup>7</sup>

The Carroll County branch of the Maryland Children's Aid Society was formally organized in December 1928 at a public meeting held in the Westminster fire hall and attended by many leading citizens from throughout the county. According to Miss Louise Matthews, daughter of Westminster mayor George W. Matthews, interest in organizing the branch developed when appeals for aid to Mayor Matthews and to Mrs. Frank T. Myers, a concerned, prominent citizen of Westminster, became too great for them to handle.<sup>8</sup> The initial meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Joseph N. Shriver, a native of Baltimore, who knew about the Children's Aid Society and probably suggested that organization as the vehicle for helping Carroll County children in need. However, according to several county women who knew her, Mrs. Shriver was not interested in socializing with the local women and, in any event, had nothing further to do with the Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society.

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5. Nancy M. Warner, Ralph B. Levering, and Margaret Taylor Woltz, *Carroll County, Maryland: A History, 1837-1976* (Westminster, Md., 1976), pp. 123-90.

6. Two valuable overviews are June Axinn and Herman Levin, *Social Welfare; A History of the American Response to Need* (New York, 1975) and Robert H. Bremner, *From the Depths; The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York, 1956). The best study of social work during the 1920s and early 1930s is Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform; American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933* (Minneapolis, 1963). A useful study concentrating on Maryland is Edward J. O'Brien, *Child Welfare Legislation in Maryland, 1634-1936* (Washington, D.C., 1937).

7. Warner, Levering, and Woltz, *Carroll County*, pp. 184-85.

8. Interview with Miss Louise Matthews, March 1976. Implicit in the need for an organization was the need for a trained social worker. As the Carroll County branch noted in an early fund-raising letter: "For many years the Maryland Children's Aid has been giving service to our county, it has found homes for our children, it has loaned us a trained worker to look into our most difficult family situations but now our appeals are so many that we cannot do without our own worker" (Undated fund-raising letter, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, in files of Maryland Children's Aid and Family Services Society, Towson, Maryland [hereinafter cited as MCAFSS files]).

The real organizing work was done by Mrs. Myers. With the help of Miss Katherine T. Kirwan, executive secretary of the state organization, she travelled throughout the county, held twelve meetings and contacted "more than 225 people," and appointed fifteen district chairmen, all of whom were women. Miss Kirwan, who attended the first few meetings of the new branch, provided information about the objectives of the society and advice on raising money and hiring a trained social worker. She pointed out that the society was designed to help all people in need, irrespective of race or religion.<sup>9</sup>

Although Mrs. Elizabeth Reinecke was named president at the organizational meeting because Mrs. Myers had declined the position, Mrs. Myers was very soon again at the head of the organization, where she remained for many years. Mrs. Myers was married to one of the partners in Westminster's leading paper-hanging business. Having no children of her own, she devoted much of her energy to helping other people's children, not only in the Children's Aid Society but also in organizations such as the "Porto Rican Child Feeding Committee" and the Juvenile Court Committee.<sup>10</sup>

The society believed that "to every child belongs the right to be well-born, to an education, to protection from child labor, to be morally safeguarded and to be spiritually trained."<sup>11</sup> Children were removed from their homes into the care of the Children's Aid Society only when immorality, desertion, non-support, feeble-mindedness, or other social factors which could not be corrected were present. They were never removed when poverty was the only existing problem. Believing that the child was better off in his own home, the society made every effort possible to improve the home environment before the child was removed to be put in a boarding, free, or wage home, or state institution. And the goal remained to return the child to his own home as soon as possible. The person responsible for making these decisions and providing the counseling was Miss Bonnie M. Custenborder, a native of Ohio who came to Carroll County as a social worker trained by the Maryland Children's Aid Society. She began her work in Carroll County on June 1, 1929.

To those acquainted with the work of the Children's Aid Society, Miss Custenborder was its embodiment. Having no children and no other family in the area, she devoted herself to the children and families of Carroll County, carrying a

9. Minutes, January 10, 1929, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.

10. *Democratic Advocate* (Westminster), July 17, 1931.

11. In a fund-raising brochure issued in 1916-17, the Maryland Children's Aid Society listed its objectives as follows:

1. Looking into the circumstances and needs of each child applying or reported to the Society.
2. Improving and adjusting conditions in their own homes.
3. Returning children to their own homes, or to relatives able to care for them.
4. Securing payments from parents unable to care for their children at home, but able to pay for them in part.
5. Placing children in carefully selected families.
6. Adequately supervising the home and child until he is of age, securing the training and employment which fits him for economic independence.
7. Securing medical or surgical treatment and arranging for convalescent and sanitorial care.
8. Transferring defective children to special institutions for treatment and training.
9. Befriending boys and girls in danger of going wrong.
10. Providing situations for homeless mothers with their babies.

Quoted in Annual Report of the Executive Director, Maryland Children's Aid Society, Inc., May 1974, MCAFSS files.



very heavy caseload and often working even in her off hours. With quiet dignity and sober determination she inspired the confidence and respect of the clients with whom she worked and of the entire community. Although emergency relief was given immediately if necessary, much investigation was required before a case was fully accepted. According to some of her associates, all Miss Custenborder had to do was to sit down and ask how things were going to get the person with whom she was visiting to pour forth all the information she needed for her investigation or report.<sup>12</sup>

The Children's Aid Society was run by a board of directors made up of the president, Mrs. Myers, and other officers and representatives (district chairmen) from the election districts of the county. These volunteers did the work of the organization that did not require social work training, such as organizing sewing committees to make and remake clothing and appeal for good used clothing; going with children under the care of the society to clinics for physical examinations, vision testing, dental care, psychological testing (usually I.Q.), etc., often driving to Baltimore; going with Miss Custenborder on her visits; organizing Christmas baskets; and conducting financial and educational campaigns. Many board members, prominent women with spare time and often with no children of their own, believed that they, the staff, and "their" children were one big family.<sup>13</sup>

After the first years, financial campaigns consisted largely of door-to-door solicitations for one-dollar memberships and contributions. Lists of those who gave at least the membership fee were printed in the *Democratic Advocate*, a local newspaper. In addition to the names of the majority, mostly women who gave one dollar, were items such as these: Westminster Hardware Company, \$1.00; F. W. Woolworth, \$1.00; Evelyn Beauty Shop, \$1.00; Mr. George Marker, \$3.30; Uniform Rank Knights of Pythias, \$25.00; Methodist Sunday School, \$33.21; Thanksgiving Offering, \$14.05. W. F. Myers' Sons and J. Stoner Geiman Company—giving \$15.10 and \$2.50, respectively—were specially cited because their employees "contributed 100 per cent."<sup>14</sup>

Other organizations helped in various ways. The Kiwanis Club gave ten dollars a month to the babies' milk bill. The Gavel Club and the American Legion set up food donation bins in local stores. The Red Cross gave needed supplies and funneled much of its local relief efforts through the Children's Aid Society. After the first year, the county commissioners contributed at least \$2,000 annually toward the society's budget, which rose from approximately \$4,000 in 1930, to \$6,500 in 1932, to \$12,300 in 1934.<sup>15</sup>

As the reports of the district chairmen at the board of directors' monthly meeting on April 11, 1929, indicate, the society's strengths in the early years derived from enthusiasm and broad-based support:

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12. Interview with Mrs. Ruth Wagaman, March 1976.

13. Interviews with Mrs. Irene Shunk and Mrs. Ruth Wagaman, March 1976; *Democratic Advocate*, February 5, 1932.

14. *Democratic Advocate*, April 22, 1932.

15. Financial Statement, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, February 11, 1931; February 1, 1933; February 1, 1935; MCAFSS files.

Miss Trump reported \$54.00 collected. Also that the Sunshine Club had offered its assistance in sewing and in various ways.

Mrs. Nusbaum's dist. had made dresses, helped a family to move and had \$135. in treas.

Mrs. Taylor of Carrollton reported help from the Church Aid Soc., the receipt of shoes, and \$23 in treas.

Hampstead reported having sent out 50 letters. Mrs. J. William Kelbaugh had been appointed treas.

Sykesville received 15 new members and had bot [sic] materials with the contribution of \$10 from their W.C.T.U. They had also rec'd a large package of good old clothes.

Mrs. Myers of Westminster said the Drive was on and so far they had rec'd \$205.

They had helped a family made destitute by a fire with a 2 ton truck load of articles.

Mrs. Baker of Woolery's said that a fire in her dist. had waked the people up to the necessity of an organization like ours. The family had been helped. . . . Mrs.

Buckingham a semi-invalid had offered to do sewing for the society free of charge.<sup>16</sup>

Although handicapped by lack of funds during its first year of operation (1929), the Carroll County Children's Aid Society developed a solid organization at both the district and county level, hired Miss Custenborder as paid social worker, and concentrated on its goal of helping disadvantaged children. But helping the children meant becoming involved with their families. As Miss Custenborder said in her annual report presented in February 1930:

Social case work is working with or directing individual families in their human relationships, guiding them into a normal way of living—cultivating personalities or traits of character that will enable the individual to become self-supporting and assisting them to solve their own problems of earning a livelihood and making life a success.<sup>17</sup>

Often the underlying cause of the neglect of the child was an unemployed father. Consequently finding jobs for people (primarily men) became an important part of Miss Custenborder's work. In one report on "Outstanding Cases," for example, she noted that "a man applied for work, has ten children. Went several places trying to get something for him. Not successful to date."<sup>18</sup>

In 1930, as the effects of the depression became more and more apparent in Carroll County, Miss Custenborder's secondary role of helping families became increasingly important. The Children's Aid Society, through its already established channels, also became the vehicle for most of the relief work done in the county. Although churches and civic organizations were concerned about helping unfortunate countians, much of their work was inspired by the Children's Aid Society. Moreover, they depended on the society for distributing the money and goods they raised.

The society made two special appeals in 1930. In September, because of the drought which had made fruit and vegetables scarce, Mrs. Myers suggested that

16. Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, April 11, 1929, MCAFSS files.

17. *Democratic Advocate*, February 14, 1930.

18. Report for September and October, 1930, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.

friends of the cause set aside a jar for the Children's Aid Society when canning. In December the appeal for clothing was particularly dramatic: "A number of children have been reported so badly in need of clothing, that in several cases the children are practically naked."<sup>19</sup>

But the most significant response of the Children's Aid Society to the depressed economic situation was its leadership, in cooperation with the Red Cross, in organizing Carroll County Emergency Relief to help the county's needy unemployed. An article which appeared in the *Democratic Advocate* on December 19, 1930, described the need for this organization and its functions as follows:

The long drought combined with economic conditions has thrown so many people out of employment. . . . The canning industry with fourteen plants in our county, because of crop failures has operated on scarcely a ten percent basis. The cement plant at Union Bridge is about to shut down due to lack of orders. Congoleum is operating on very short time. In addition, there are crop shortages everywhere, and there was little need for help on the farm.

To meet this situation there has been set up an agency known as the Carroll County Emergency Relief. . . . It will receive funds and distribute supplies, with the help of the Children's Aid Society, over as wide an area as possible.<sup>20</sup>

The committee, composed largely of businessmen, planned to be active for three months.

As the depression in Carroll County continued to worsen during 1931, the work of the Children's Aid Society increased and expanded. Winter was always the worst season. Numerous families were cold and hungry and many people were forced to appeal for and accept assistance for the first time in their lives. "The unemployment situation which is largely responsible for the growth of the work in our county has made our work doubly heavy," Mrs. Myers noted in an article which appeared in the *Democratic Advocate* on February 27, 1931. At the May quarterly board meeting, Mrs. Myers called for more volunteers because the work load had grown to almost more than one social worker could handle, and hiring an assistant at that time was financially impossible. In September the two major industries in Union Bridge—the cement plant and the Western Maryland Railroad car shop—were closed at least temporarily, and people feared the worst. At the society's annual meeting in February 1932, Mrs. Myers presented statistics which revealed the expansion of the Children's Aid Society's work in 1931: "In 1931, we had 150 new appeals for aid of one kind or another against 134 in 1930. Our one worker made 798 visits this year against 565 in 1930, and while our receipts from every source shrank \$777.00 last year the needed expenditures of the Society mounted \$1,198.00 over the previous year."<sup>21</sup>

Assistance given by the society was generally emergency relief with most of

19. *Democratic Advocate*, September 12 and December 5, 1930.

20. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1930.

21. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1932. Partially counteracting the financial situation was the encouraging statement by an officer of the Maryland Children's Aid Society that the Carroll County branch "is well organized and has more volunteers than the other counties" (Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, December 7, 1931, MCAFSS files).

the effort directed toward getting the family able to take care of itself again. Miss Custenborder's report to the May 1931 quarterly meeting describes some of the measures taken to help needy countians.

One family, destitute all winter, was placed on a farm where they are now self-supporting. They are planting potatoes and other vegetables for the winter and also raising hogs for their meat. Odd jobs were given several men which enabled them to help make ends meet. . . .

A number of children have been able to attend school when food, clothing, and shoes were supplied by the C.A.S. Hot lunches were provided in several cases.<sup>22</sup>

The conservative, self-help emphasis of the Children's Aid Society is further exemplified in Miss Custenborder's annual report for 1931.

Many families have applied for relief, some as a last resort and others because they think the world owes them a living. . . . Often relatives are found who are able and willing to aid the family; sometimes part-time employment can be secured which will enable the family to meet the necessities of life. This helps to keep up the morale of the industrious man and to stimulate self-respect in the indifferent man. Employment was found during the year for fifteen different persons.<sup>23</sup>

Later that year the Children's Aid Society, expecting a heavy demand for its services during the winter of 1932, made arrangements to move from Miss Custenborder's living room in the Klee Apartments to more adequate quarters on the second floor of 84 East Main Street in Westminster, directly over the Keefer Sanitary Grocery Store. Although the quarters were still part of Miss Custenborder's personal apartment, there was now space to have an office for interviewing (where Miss Custenborder was always available on Wednesdays) and a clothes room where collected garments could be organized and ready when appeals came, as they constantly did.

During 1932 the Children's Aid Society was largely responsible for all the relief that was available to needy countians. Miss Custenborder reported early in 1932 that "increasingly Carroll County people are clearing all cases of need through the Children's Aid Society in order to avoid duplication of effort and cost of relief furnished." She encouraged local people to contact the society about any family or individual in need of any phase of social service.<sup>24</sup>

To enhance its position and ability to help, the society conducted an intensive educational campaign beginning in February 1932. The campaign was carried out by newspaper stories, public talks, printed leaflets, private calls on individuals, sermons in many churches of the county, and an essay contest for school children on "Why Should Carroll County Stand Behind the Work of the Children's Aid Society."<sup>25</sup>

Many agencies in the county contributed to the work of the Children's Aid Society, especially the Red Cross. Half of the funds collected in its financial drives remained in the county for local relief. Large portions of these funds at

22. *Democratic Advocate*, May 15, 1931.

23. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1932.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, February 12, 19, and 26, and March 4, 18, and 25, 1932.

some point came into the hands of the Children's Aid Society. During the first five months of 1932, for example, the Red Cross paid practically all the society's food and fuel bills and for part of the clothing; during the summer it provided seeds and potatoes for gardens; and for part of the year the Red Cross received flour, which it then turned over to the society for distribution.<sup>26</sup>

Many other agencies, businesses, and individuals helped. In fact, the success of the Children's Aid Society was largely due to its ability to get so many people involved in making contributions that directly helped the county's needy citizens. The city of Westminster collected wood to be cut by unemployed men in exchange for a grocery order; the firewood then was given to families in need of fuel. Joseph Shreeves gave eight loaves of bread a week. Mackenzie's Drug Store donated \$15 worth of supplies as needed. A local farmer gave 300 pounds of beans. The State Theatre held a benefit matinee and charged canned fruits and vegetables for admission. The Rotary Club paid \$38 to purchase braces for a nine-year-old girl. W. H. Davis gave a five-room apartment on the third floor of the building occupied by Woolworth's (at the corner of Main and John streets), heated and equipped with chairs, tables, and five sewing machines, for the use of the Children's Aid Society sewing committee. The Westminster branch of the Needle Work Guild of America donated new garments. The Willing Workers class of the Brethren Church provided canned food, clothing, dishes, and kitchen utensils.<sup>27</sup>

Support for the Children's Aid Society was impressive, but the need in the county in 1932 was simply too great. The organization, cutting corners at every turn, could hardly make ends meet. New material was made into clothing, used garments were remodeled, and the scraps were used to make much needed "comforts." Garments were even made from the muslin used in the bicentennial parade in Taneytown and then donated to the sewing committees of the Children's Aid Society. Effective in November, Miss Custenborder voluntarily reduced her salary 10 percent.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the nearly exhausted treasury that December, the society, as it always did, felt compelled to help the cold and hungry; but, as usual, it also insisted that the recipient of relief had to be willing to help himself to the extent he was able. The society cut from relief roles, moved to Baltimore, and even kept out of the county when possible people it considered "shiftless," dependent, and unwilling to work. Finding employment and encouraging her clients to earn any money they could regardless of the wage were important aspects of Miss Custenborder's social work.<sup>29</sup>

Locating jobs, however, was not easy. The Westminster shoe factory and the Mt. Airy pants factory were closed for several months during the year, and two

26. *Ibid.*, May 13 and September 16, 1932.

27. *Ibid.*, September 16, October 14 and 21, and December 9 and 23, 1932.

28. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1932.

29. Minutes, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, May 9, 1932, MCAFSS files. Sometimes Miss Custenborder or Mrs. Myers was successful in locating low-paying jobs at a local nursery or cannery. According to Mrs. Henry Ackley, Miss Custenborder's secretary, there was a feeling in the society that these businesses could have paid more than the 15 cents per hour offered to these men who had families to support (Interview with Mrs. Henry Ackley, May 1976).

canneries did not operate. During the spring and summer of 1932, therefore, the society stressed planting a garden and canning fruits and vegetables for winter use. Appeals were made for vacant lots, seeds, plants, jars, and sugar for jelly and butters.<sup>30</sup>

To the extent that the December 1932 report of C. Scott Bollinger, president of the Carroll County Board of Commissioners, was correct and not the result of blindness to the real plight of the poor, the efforts of the Children's Aid Society were effective. He claimed that the county "is in good shape. There are a good many unemployed . . . , and between \$6000 and \$7000 has been appropriated from county funds during the year, but there is no one suffering in the county." Furthermore, he saw no need for state relief aid because "the county can take care of it right well"—a statement with which many in the Children's Aid Society surely would have disagreed. Bollinger also cited the Children's Aid Society as an agency distributing county relief funds.<sup>31</sup>

By 1933 the Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society was "known [to social workers] all over the country as the only organized social welfare agency" in the area. Miss Custenborder noted that "requests for service reach us from not only our own state but from Maine to Florida and from California to the East Coast."<sup>32</sup> For any Carroll Countians who did not know, reports given during the year and appeals in the April financial campaign emphasized the society's role in the county.

The continuing depression—at least as severe in 1933 as in 1932—brought the society, stretched virtually to the limit, even more work. "We have passed through an unusually busy summer due to lack of employment in the county," Miss Custenborder observed in September. "While we have the usual number of chronic cases . . . , we also have appeals from worthy and industrious men and women who would gladly work and support their families. Over 100 persons have made inquiry at this office for work."<sup>33</sup>

The work of the Children's Department alone—the society's original responsibility—became more difficult because "free and wage homes were almost impossible to find," due largely, the society believed, "to the depressed times."<sup>34</sup> More children than ever before had to be boarded, and the meager funds available for boarding costs meant that some needy children were not cared for. Miss Custenborder reported in December 1933 on one child who that year had been committed to the Maryland Training School. "This boy should have been removed from his home two years ago and given a chance, but funds were not available to care for him in a boarding home."<sup>35</sup>

Miss Custenborder's report at the end of the year was grim indeed.

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30. *Democratic Advocate*, May 13 and 27, and September 16, 1932.

31. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1932. An example of the tendency of governments to downplay the severity of the depression was a report to Maryland Governor Albert C. Ritchie in March 1932 describing changes in the unemployment situation since the previous December. Dr. Thomas B. Symons, the author of the report, stated that in Carroll County there had been "little change except for closing of shoe factory employing 400" (*Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1932).

32. Annual Report, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, February 13, 1933, MCAFSS files.

33. Third Quarterly Board Meeting 1933, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files.

34. *Democratic Advocate*, February 17, 1933.

35. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1933.



We have had an unusual number of appeals for assistance and unless work is provided soon we shall be facing the hardest winter in our history. Farm work and road work have given employment to a large number of men but the work on the farms is practically over and many of the men have been laid off the road work. Even though the men have three days a week on the roads they have a struggle to make ends meet for there are times when the weather is bad and they lose a day or more and are forced to ask for aid to provide the necessities for their families. And often the farmers are not able to pay their help for work done until the crop is sold. The price of flour and other staple groceries have risen and it has been impossible to provide anything for the winter other than the fruit and vegetables which they canned. The Woolen Mills, Congoleum Plant, and Cement Plant have been running, otherwise there would be more families in need. . . .<sup>36</sup>

By the time of her fifth annual report in February 1934, however, Miss Custenborder presented a much brighter picture. Families had found employment. The Children's Aid Society had been designated to select the young men for the Reforestation Camps operated by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), opened in the spring of 1933. Thirty-two Carroll Countians were enrolled. They received room and board plus \$5 for spending money per month and their families received an additional \$25 per month, which had removed many of these families from the county's relief rolls. Civil Works Administration (CWA) and Public Works Administration (PWA) projects were also helpful, and Miss Custenborder proudly noted that, "while there have been some chiselers and shirkers, it has been encouraging to note the attitude of the men who have been employed for months, and we wish it might be possible to find a job for every man and woman in need of work."<sup>37</sup>

As long as the federal jobs continued, the relief picture was much improved. At the quarterly board meeting in September 1934, Miss Custenborder reported that "a number of projects are in the course of construction at this time and with the seasonal labor in canneries and on the farms practically all those able to work can find some employment."<sup>38</sup> The agency began to concentrate increasingly on its original goal of caring for neglected children.

While relief work and garden and canning projects continued, perhaps the most important emphasis during 1934 was on finding clothing. At the beginning of the school year Miss Custenborder reported that "many parents are able to provide food and pay rent, but are not able to equip the children for school."<sup>39</sup> In November the society announced that it was in "drastic and immediate need" of men's and boys' clothing, and strongly objected to "the practice of giving clothing and other articles to outside charity organizations."<sup>40</sup> The society took pride in providing children in its care with clothing that was "inconspicuous because it was like that worn by other children." It believed that "children who have suffered because of the inadequacy of their parents and their own homes are particularly responsive to the encouragement of [such] clothing."<sup>41</sup>

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1934.

38. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1934.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, November 23, 1934.

41. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1934. The society believed it was important for the children in its care not to appear obvious in any way.



By 1935 the Children's Aid Society, no longer so totally burdened by relief work, began to mature. The hiring of Mrs. Esther K. Brown to do relief work in late 1934, reflecting the society's improved financial position, removed much of the pressure from the overburdened Miss Custenborder<sup>42</sup>. The members, well aware of the need for predictable sources of funds, organized a men's auxiliary which soon became a men's advisory council to help in the work of the society and particularly in financial campaigns. And for the first time pledges for contributions to be paid throughout the year were solicited.

In 1935 the society continued to do relief work—finding jobs, sponsoring gardens, helping with canning—but as Miss Custenborder said in her report in May 1935, "We feel that the peak of the relief situation has been reached and that the chief need now is to build up the morale of the unemployed by planning work projects to take the place of direct relief."<sup>43</sup>

With the establishment of a statewide public welfare system in the spring of 1935, the Maryland Children's Aid Society and its branches moved to restrict their work to the children's program in order to do more things for the children and do them better. A story in the *Democratic Advocate* on March 29, 1935, gave an example of what the society could do.

Some months ago [a] nine-year-old child was a familiar figure on the streets of downtown Westminster where she begged candy and nickels for the movies. She rarely went home until the excitement of Main Street had subsided late at night. She was always grimy but she had manners that won the adult heart. [After the Children's Aid Society took charge of her and put her in a boarding home elsewhere in the county, she became an imaginative, adventurous, happy child.] Her greatest difficulty was in learning to eat a regular meal, she had lived on candy for so long.<sup>44</sup>

Although the financial appeal in the spring of 1935 still called for aid to "distressed families" as well as for work with "neglected and dependent children," none of the funds raised were to be used for unemployment relief.<sup>45</sup> Appropriations for that purpose were now made by the county commissioners. The final step to remove relief work from the duties of the Children's Aid Society began in May 1935 with the establishment of the publicly-funded Carroll County Welfare Board. Mrs. Esther Brown continued her relief work under the auspices of the Welfare Board with the goals of helping people to help themselves; giving instructions in canning, sewing, etc.; and encouraging district projects for the purpose of providing employment and bettering health and social conditions.<sup>46</sup>

By September 1935, after the Welfare Board had moved into its own quarters, the permanent division of the two organizations was complete. The functions of the two organizations were described in an article in the *Democratic Advocate* as follows:

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42. The society's income grew from \$7835.67 in 1933 to \$12,471.64 in 1934. The increase is explained by the growth of the county commissioners' contribution from \$2800.00 in 1933 to \$7059.90 in 1934 (Financial Statement, February 1, 1934 and February 1, 1935, Carroll County Children's Aid Society, MCAFSS files).

43. *Democratic Advocate*, May 17, 1935.

44. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1935.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1935.

The Welfare Board, which is a public agent, will handle the old-age pensions and all relief cases whether due to unemployment or disability. The CAS, which is a private organization, will continue to care for the dependent children. This plan has been decided upon by the Board of State Aid and Charities, following the passing of the bill at the last session of Legislature, defining the duties of County Welfare Boards.<sup>47</sup>

The two agencies continued to cooperate, but from then on Miss Custenborder, Mrs. Myers, and the other members of the Children's Aid Society board could turn their full attention to making a better life for Carroll County's neglected children.

What was the significance of the society's work in the early 1930s? The Carroll County branch of the Children's Aid Society was founded to help needy children. Emphasizing the needs of children as a means of establishing professional social work in a rural, religious county later made it possible to help needy adults as well, for, as W. A. Owings has noted recently, "the welfare of the young always strikes a peculiarly sympathetic note, for it is a part of the Christian ethic that the dependent child and its mother are entitled to support."<sup>48</sup> In addition to the relief work which the organization itself assumed, it served even more importantly to stimulate individuals, church and civic groups, businesses, and the county government to contribute, through the society's channels, to the county's needy citizens.

The work of the Children's Aid Society—even the relief provided during the difficult early years of the depression—was completely acceptable to the generally conservative Carroll Countians. Assistance given was of an emergency or self-help nature. The charity was voluntary and appealed to the countians' patriotism. One of the *Democratic Advocate* articles encouraging support for the Children's Aid Society called on local citizens to give the children "the opportunity to grow up with a healthy body and a trained mind, a disciplined character, and a devotion to the American Government."<sup>49</sup>

The society was a women's organization. Women headed it, ran it, appealed for funds, and did its work. It provided a welcome outlet for the energies and talents of middle-class women. To call the Great Depression a part of "the long amnesia," as Peter Gabriel Filene has done in his recent book on sex roles in modern America, underestimates the contribution made by the hundreds of Carroll County women who worked for the Children's Aid Society.<sup>50</sup> In fact, at a time when male-dominated economic and political institutions were paralyzed, these women took on a vital role in holding together a stricken social order, using gifts of food, clothing, fuel, and free services to supplement scarce funds. And when additional financial support for relief and children's work was required, it was the women who stirred up prominent men to form first the Carroll County Emergency Relief organization and later the Men's Advisory Council.

47. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1935.

48. W. A. Owings, *Provision for the Many: Perspectives on American Poverty* (Hinsdale, Ill., 1973), p. 107.

49. *Democratic Advocate*, April 21, 1933.

50. Peter Gabriel Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America* (New York, 1974), chapter 6.

Beyond the question of women's role in combating the depression is the overarching issue of the effectiveness of voluntary organizations and local governments in responding to this unprecedented crisis. Although more research is needed, especially on the rural areas in which approximately 44 percent of the nation's population in 1930 still lived, the following working hypothesis seems appropriate: that, in general, local self-help efforts failed first in large cities such as Philadelphia, then in smaller cities such as Ann Arbor,<sup>51</sup> and finally in rural areas such as Carroll County where, barring such natural disasters as the 1930 drought, the unemployed at least could be provided with the seed and land necessary to grow much of their own food. Such a hypothesis clearly is valid for central Maryland; the city of Baltimore (pop. 804,874) was in serious need of state and federal relief funds by March 1932, and neighboring Baltimore County (pop. 124,565) by June 1932 was also, whereas Carroll County managed relatively well until the depression hit bottom in the winter of 1933.<sup>52</sup>

But despite the advantages Carroll County enjoyed relative to more urban areas, and despite all the support given the Children's Aid Society, its funds and means of procuring employment were never sufficient. Only when the state and federal governments stepped in between 1933 and 1935 with relief funds, jobs, and the opening of the Carroll County Welfare Board, supported by government funds, was there substantial improvement in the relief picture in the county. Charity, Carroll Countians learned during the Great Depression, no longer could be left entirely to voluntary organizations.

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51. David M. Katzman, "Ann Arbor: Depression City," *Michigan History*, 54 (December 1966): 306-17.

52. For conditions in the city of Baltimore, see *Baltimore Sun*, March 19, 1932; *Baltimore Post*, March 19, 1932; and Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 730-34. For Baltimore County see *The Jeffersonian* (Towson, Md.), March 12 and July 1, 1932. The Children's Aid Society, Baltimore County's major welfare organization, had to close its Dundalk office, ending aid to 250 needy families, at the end of June 1932 due to lack of funds.

## Reviews of Recent Books

*The American Revolution and Religion: Maryland, 1770-1800.* By Thomas O'Brien Hanley. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1971. Pp. 160. \$13.95.)

Thomas O'Brien Hanley published this book in 1971, and it has been overlooked as a contribution to our understanding of Maryland history before, during, and after the American Revolution. We should have renewed interest in this study since the publication, under Hanley's editorship, of *The John Carroll Papers* in 1976. The 1971 volume gives to us the immediate religious context in which the first Roman Catholic bishop of the United States began his work. Hanley explores in the earlier work two very important developments in Maryland history. On the one hand, he suggests that, contrary to what is generally said about religious life in America, "the American Revolutionary War brought an era of religious growth and vitality in Maryland." On the other hand, he describes a movement from a "confessional state" to the establishment of a "Christian state" with a degree of religious pluralism. In Hanley's treatment the two aspects of his history are related.

It was, so the argument runs, the movement from a "confessional state" to a "Christian state" which helped to stimulate the era of religious growth and vitality. By a "confessional state" Hanley means the period in Maryland history during which the Church of England was established with special prerogatives. This establishment began to erode before the American Revolution, and it was finally replaced. But Marylanders did not disestablish religion. Rather they established a "Christian state" in which a variety of Christian communities were protected and supported by the laws of the state. While it is a little difficult to see the essential difference between the terms "confessional" and "Christian," Hanley's basic point is clear. Maryland established a pluralistic Christian society. By legislative action, Jews were permitted to hold public office without affirming Christian faith, a right denied to those who professed infidelity openly. In this connection, Hanley's discussion of the place of the oath in Maryland public life indicates how important it was in helping to secure a religious uniformity. It was not, to be sure, a "test act," in the Anglican sense of that term, but it did assume a confession of belief, basically Christian, for office holding and in legal and court proceedings. Hanley describes the manner in which Methodists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and others, in uneasy alliance, deprived the Protestant Episcopal Church of its favored status before the law, while at the same time continuing governmental support for Christian institutions. He also describes the way various Christian denominations preserved their own identity, and yet manifested ecumenism in programs instituted to care for the poor and the slaves, and to educate the young. This cooperation did not always run smoothly. Hanley makes wide use of state and denominational records. He also makes use of manuscript materials, and William Duke, an Episcopalian, on whose papers Hanley draws extensively, emerges as one of the more interesting characters in this narrative. Hanley shows how "Catholic emancipation" in Maryland made things much easier on John Carroll in the exercise of his early episcopal functions. By the way, Hanley should have discussed in a fuller manner Catholic attitudes toward the institution of slavery. Moreover, since Hanley contends that Presbyterians constituted one of the most numerous bodies in Maryland, outnumbering even the fast-growing Methodists, he should have given more attention to them.

With regard to Hanley's first intention, to show that the Revolutionary War brought an era of religious growth and vitality to Maryland, this reader believes that he has helped to illuminate the problem. He has not resolved it. But he has shown how difficult it is to make a generalization about religious life in this period. In Maryland, different religious groups showed growth and vitality at different times and under different circumstances. Distinctions in time and circumstances ought to be taken into consideration when we generalize about religious developments in the eighteenth century. Hanley's study seems to show that the larger degree of religious liberty did stimulate renewed life in various "out" groups, and even among Protestant Episcopalians who lost the most support and protection in the transition.

With regard to his second purpose, Hanley has described well how Anglican prerogatives gave way to the establishment of a broad Christian hegemony, Catholic and Protestant, over Maryland affairs. But I for one am somewhat uneasy about the way the author describes the "Christian state" Maryland citizens brought into existence. In his introductory remarks Hanley suggests that the state was "the instrument of the society" which gave "institutional force to religion." Maryland citizens saw it as a proper function of the civil authority to support and protect the religious life of the people. At the very end of the study, Hanley concludes Marylanders desired that "religion and the total life of its people be embodied in the vital organism of the state." While I find it easy to accept the first statement Hanley makes about his arguments, I find it a little difficult to understand, much less accept, some of the implications of the latter statement. The author seems to impose upon Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Catholics, an organic political model and what appears to be a Hegelian synthesis with regard to the state which does not square with the political ethos of the times. Hanley's meaning here ought to be examined with care.

*Union Theological Seminary, Virginia*

JAMES H. SMYLIE

*The United States District Court of Maryland.* By H. H. Walker Lewis. (Baltimore: The Maryland State Bar Association, 1977. Pp. vi, 98. \$6.00.)

What could have been an arid legalistic discussion of judicial decisions, under the skillful hand of Walker Lewis becomes a colorful chapter in Maryland history. The color is reflected even in the sites of the United States District Court of Maryland from its first probable meeting places after its creation in 1789 in inns and taverns to its present location in an elliptical building with the controversial aegis of a sprawling construction of painted aluminum.

It is the men who have sat in the various courtrooms who fascinate Lewis and whom he sketches so well. Beneath the dignity and erudition of the august procession, he gives glimpses of the personalities, visual (Judge Thomas J. Morris marching from his hotel to the Cumberland courthouse in striped trousers, tail coat, and high silk hat, with the Court docket carried behind him) and vocal (Judge John C. Rose motoring to his law club during Prohibition, referring to a suddenly discovered case of liquor under his seat as "sub rosa").

Lewis's story ends with the death of the nationally respected Calvin Chesnut, before the appointment of the present judges, but not before the evocation of the sparkle, jauntiness and pounce of Morris A. Soper.

The pulse of national history throbs audibly in this chronicle. A large part of the Court's early cases dealt with the privateering during the War of 1812 and the piracy of the Baltimore group known as "the American Concern." It was the Marylander Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Roger Brooke Taney, who came to the United States District Court of Maryland in 1861 to rule that President Lincoln's suspension of the

writ of habeas corpus was unconstitutional—one of our greatest decisions upholding the liberty of the individual.

The great increase which has taken place in the Court's jurisdiction reflects a basic change in the Federal-State relationship. For some years after it was created, most of the cases heard in the Court were in admiralty. The expansion of Federal regulation into many fields of economic and social activity has tremendously enlarged the powers and duties of the District Courts. The expanded recognition by the Supreme Court of individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution has resulted, in criminal cases, in giving the District Courts what amounts, in effect, to appellate power over the State Courts.

For many years, there was only one judge in the United States District Court of Maryland, who worked part-time, a few days a week. Today there are seven judges in addition to two only nominally retired. Even with this manpower, the Court is overloaded. Only the dedication of the judges, a tradition of the Court, in close cooperation with the District Clerks and Marshals, who, as in the past, are equally dedicated, has enabled the Court to keep abreast of its steadily increasing docket.

Lewis narrates the Court's evolution with the pungency and charm he has shown in his other works. Rarely can the conjunction of the disciplines of law and history have produced a more intriguing story.

Baltimore

REUBEN OPPENHEIMER

*Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland.* By Jean H. Baker. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. Pp. xviii, 206. \$14.00.)

Not only is this a much needed analysis of an important subject, but the material is well organized, easy to read, and delightfully brief. We are all indebted to Professor Baker for what should be a model for studies of the Know Nothings in other localities.

"Analysis" best describes the work, for it is geared for the specialist rather than the general reader, and it will hardly take the prize in the category of "light reading." At least, this reviewer wondered at the difference between collective biography and "prosopography" (p. 61), worried over "the merits of recidivism" (p. 84), puzzled at "the collinearity of urban residence" (p. 138), and "a misoneistic fear of change" (p. 124) sent him hurrying to Webster's while monitoring his pulse. The book is meant to be studied.

But the effort is worth it; and that becomes apparent in the very introduction. Here, Baker deftly locates her study within the greenhouse of scholarship: one plant portrays the Know Nothings as "Unionists" trying to escape sectionalism; another focuses upon their negative ideology—their anti-foreign, anti-Roman Catholic biases—and condemns them for it; and a third is Michael Holt's blazing effort to portray the Know Nothings as reactionaries to the economic crises of the 1850's. Baker points out that all three view the Know Nothings as an aberrant, un-American movement, and, without her defending the negative ideology of the movement, also points out that everyone neglects to mention that both political alternatives to this un-American movement, the Republican and Democratic parties, offered racism in its stead. Was the alternative "American," asks Baker? No, she replies, for the issues were far more complex than that. And she convincingly demonstrates her proposition.

Apart from such historiographical considerations, Baker also warns the reader to expect many of the quantitative techniques of the "new political history" to be interwoven with more traditional narrative history. She then proceeds to nicely blend the two, leaving us with proof by example. Not only does her information from one complement that of the other, but she includes four appendices, each of which discusses particular thematic techniques of the "new political history" and points out the limitations of

Maryland's sources in comparison with those of other states; all of which is invaluable. However, those who are unfamiliar with quantification techniques, and therefore unable to interpret the tables in the text, should read the appendices first; otherwise, the flow of Baker's argument in reference to the tables will make little sense.

Apparently, political parties are twice the size of ancient Gaul for, says Baker, they are divided into six parts (p. xiii). Accordingly, each chapter analytically treats one of them in the following order: setting, ideology, leaders, legislative behavior, organization, and followers. Such an organization is deceptively simple, however, for, while it accommodates an enormous amount of information and a plethora of secondary and even tertiary level interpretations, it seems to preclude summary judgments about historical significance and meaning. The analytic vehicle does not inform us of what all of this adds up to; and to tell us in terms of political science, as Baker usually does, bends the research design in the direction of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Yet this does not negate the value of Baker's study. Indeed, we learn more about the Know Nothings here than in other studies. And while many of her statements can be challenged with contradictory evidence (e.g. that Baltimore's tradition of election violence began in the 1830's (pp. 123-24), or that "immigrants rarely became farm workers" (p. 135), they do not really mar her general contribution: that Maryland's Know Nothings were, generally speaking, Protestant, middle-class, skilled workers who were more likely to have been Democrats than Whigs, and whose temperamental conservatism prevented them, in the end, from becoming true "Americans."

But for some real surprises, you must read the book.

*University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

GARY L. BROWNE

*The Fifties: The Way We Really Were.* By Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977. Pp. viii, 444. \$10.95.) The notion that a decade in history—the forties, the fifties, the seventies—has a character all its own is essentially untenable. Of course there are distinct periods in history, some of which indeed may be ten years long, but they rarely coincide with a particular decade. The authors of this survey of major social and cultural developments in America from 1950 to 1960 admit as much when they conclude that the "fifties . . . is not a neat single unit." Thus, they label it as, successively, "The Age of Fear" (1948-53); "The Era of Conservative Consensus" (1954-57); "The Time of National Reassessment" (1958-60). And as "individuals who have been radicalized" since the years covered in their book they are true to themselves. The strident anti-communism, cloying piety, sexism, racism, and economic exploitation of the fifties receive a well-deserved drubbing, while the spirit of change and renewal which seemed to blossom by the period's end is gratefully heralded. Much of Miller's and Nowak's material, as well as their views, no doubt will be startling to those gripped by the mindless nostalgia for the fifties now abroad in the land. Such persons constitute the presumptive audience for this volume; historians may enjoy reading it but will find little that is new. [M. I. Scholnick]



## Book Notes

*Plagues and Peoples*. By William H. McNeill. (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976. Pp. 369. \$10.00.) Most general histories explain the rise and fall of civilizations in terms of prominent leaders, mass political and social movements, wars, ideology, religion, scientific and technological advances. Thus *Plagues and Peoples* makes a significant contribution by introducing the role of disease in human history. Professor McNeill has marshalled an impressive array of evidence and inferential argument to support his contention that microparasitism (infectious disease) has often been as important, sometimes more important, than the usually recognized casual factors of history. McNeill traces his subject on a global scale from the dim mists of prehistory to the present day, chronicling and analyzing the important patterns of infection and the impact of disease on a succession of civilizations and societies. Of particular interest is the repeated pattern of devastation when a new micro-organism attacks a particular human population, sometimes destroying half or more of that population in a single outbreak. If the population pool is sufficiently large to sustain the losses and permit a continuation of the chain of disease, that population will build up immunity to the disease. Thus a more stable relationship between parasite and host develops, and the "domesticated" disease continues as a childhood disease, endemic but much less devastating in its consequences. When an immunized population (Europeans by the Fifteenth Century) then encounters a previously isolated human group (e.g. Indo-Americans) the domesticated disease strikes with epidemic force, bringing death and destruction to the newly-exposed host population. Many of McNeill's observations and arguments, as he freely admits, need further examination. Nevertheless, this is an important book that successfully introduces microparasitism to the general reader as a major historical causative factor. McNeill's clear and cogent presentation should instruct and fascinate all readers. [Douglas D. Martin]

*Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies*. Edited by John W. Blassingame. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. Pp. xiv, 777. \$37.50 cloth, \$9.95 paper.) Historians of the Afro-American experience often point out the paucity of sources which discuss slavery from the viewpoint of the slaves. Blassingame, who in his 1972 book, *The Slave Community*, was one of the first scholars to make effective use of slave autobiographies, has here compiled a massive collection of first-person accounts of slavery. His 49-page introduction is an incisive analysis of such sources, pointing out their reliability and their limitations. The hundreds of documents are arranged in seven categories, each of which is prefaced by brief introductory remarks. Individual pieces are annotated, and given careful bibliographical citation. The categories suggest the range of this compilation: Letters, 1736-1864; Speeches, 1837-1862; Newspaper and Magazine Interviews, 1827-1863; American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Interviews, 1863; Newspaper and Magazine Interviews, 1864-1938; Interviews by Scholars, 1872-1938; Autobiographies Published in Periodicals and Books, 1828-1878. The volume's usefulness is enhanced by the name and subject indexes. Blassingame's edition complements well Willie Lee Rose's *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) and the recent reprint of the WPA slave interviews, George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1972). Libraries should have all these, but individuals with an interest in the

subject would do well to acquire both the Blassingame and Rose volumes, each in paperback. While such works cannot make up for the absolute shortage of slave sources, they do gather together those that are known and make them widely available to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

*Sir William Johnson: Colonial American, 1715-1763.* By Milton W. Hamilton. National University Publications. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1976. Pp. 402. \$17.50.) Among the most significant of colonial Americans, Sir William Johnson has not lacked biographers. But all earlier treatments pale in comparison with Hamilton's study of Sir William's career through the French and Indian War. Johnson is well known for his role as perhaps the most knowledgeable and adept Indian diplomat in the colonies through his long, intricate, and successful diplomacy with the Iroquois Confederacy and other Indian groups. But he was also important in fostering the settlement of the Mohawk Valley, as an Indian trader, and as a military leader who had substantial success against the French and their Indian allies along the northern frontier. All facets of Johnson's career receive considered analysis in this thorough, readable, and reasoned biography. Hamilton, retired New York State Historian and editor of four volumes of the *Johnson Papers*, takes great pains to point out where previous biographers (Pound, Seymour, and Flexner) have erred in their interpretations of Johnson's character and actions, and where one (Augustus C. Buell) went so far as to falsify information and forge documents to support his interpretation. The only weakness here is Hamilton's failure to make use of valuable recent volumes on the Iroquois and on Indian-White relations in this period. Although the characterization of Johnson would not have been appreciably altered, these books would have provided the basis for a more complete understanding of Indian motivations and strategies and thus a truer picture of Indian-White diplomacy. In essence this is a fine biography, and we can look forward to the projected companion volume which is to cover Johnson's career from 1763 through his death in 1774. [Douglas D. Martin]

*Materials for the Study of Washington: A Selected Annotated Bibliography.* By Perry G. Fisher. *G. W. Washington Studies Series.* (Washington: George Washington University, 1974. Pp. 63. \$2.50.) As a logical and valuable beginning for the Washington Studies, Perry G. Fisher has produced what every urban or local historian loves to see: a bibliography that not only lists the major printed materials by topic but also provides a brief statement on the contents and quality of the publication. Public documents, private papers, and unpublished materials have to be found elsewhere; this selected list covers histories and studies of Washington's origins and development as well as its architecture, planning, black community, and even novels. The Washington Studies Series is taking shape as a good model for the type of historical publication that fills the gap between the journal article and the full-length monograph. [Dean R. Esslinger]

*The Federal City: Plans and Realities.* By Frederick Gutheim and Wilcomb E. Washburn. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976. Pp. xvi, 170. Illustrated. \$3.00.) Of all the plans of American cities the most inspirational is still that of Washington. This unique and beautifully designed book presents a history of that graceful plan and a catalogue of the exhibition, which is currently on display at the old Smithsonian Institution Building on the Mall. Whether or not you visit the exhibit, the book is well worth the bargain price of three dollars. It does not replace more detailed and scholarly books like John W. Repp's *Monumental Washington*, but it does bring together a review of Washington's physical development with an excellent choice of nearly one hundred photographs, maps, and illustrations. Even the cover is unique in

that it folds out into a detachable watercolor panorama of Washington in the mid-nineteenth century. [Dean R. Esslinger]

*New York: The Centennial Years 1676-1976.* Edited by Milton M. Klein. Interdisciplinary Urban Series. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1976. Pp. 202. \$9.95.) As America's premier city New York deserves this brief but worthy collection of centennial essays. Beginning with 1676, several historians, including Bayrd Still, Milton Klein, and Kenneth Jackson, describe New York at each one hundred year mark. Jackson's essay includes the city's suburbs and both he and Klein make interesting predictions for New York in 2076. The essays are original and well worth reading. [Dean R. Esslinger]

*District of Columbia Catalog.* Compiled by Nancy B. Schwartz. (Washington, D.C.: Published for the Columbia Historical Society by the University of Virginia Press, 1976. Pp. xliii, 193. \$9.75 cloth, \$3.50 paper.) With the cooperation and sponsorship of the Columbia Historical Society, the Historic American Buildings Survey has published its complete catalog for the District of Columbia. A brief description, usually accompanied by black and white photos or architectural drawings, is provided for each building along with references to the complete information files of the HABS. The catalog is useful to scholars but also has a value to Washington visitors and residents. [Dean R. Esslinger]

*The Buffalo War.* By James L. Haley. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976. Pp. 290. \$7.95.) Here, as author Haley claims, is the first study to detail the Red River Uprising of 1874, the last major Indian-white conflict on the southern plains. The conflict resulted from the efforts of the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho to protect their livelihood—the buffalo—from the booming long guns of the white hide hunters. In its aftermath, these Indian nations no longer roamed freely on the southern plains, and in a few short years the buffalo too had largely disappeared. Haley's account of the immediate causes of the conflict and of the ebb and flow of the fighting is clear and full. He also includes an excellent bibliography and thus it is more the pity that he does not make full use of it in piecing together his story. But the most unsatisfying aspect of this otherwise adequate study is Haley's inability to place the Buffalo War within the larger context of the history of Indian-white relations. In treating it in relative isolation he diminishes rather than enhances, as he obviously hoped to do, its importance. [Douglas D. Martin]

*The Battle of the Washita.* By Stan Hoig. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976. Pp. 268. \$8.95.) This account portrays the personalities and events of the Indian-white conflict on the southern plains in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. As the title suggests, the central focus is on the most well known incident of that conflict, the battle of the Washita. That surprise attack on Black Kettle's village of Cheyenne in the dead of winter, 1868, established Lt. Col. George A. Custer's reputation as an Indian fighter. Hoig's is a workmanlike, occasionally dramatic, account of the unfolding of events 1866-68 that is based on research in published primary and secondary accounts, contemporary newspapers, and manuscript collections. While scholars will at times be disturbed by the author's failure to use the best available sources, his cursory use of others, or his inexplicable choice of sources on still other occasions, his generally accurate and readable account will undoubtedly satisfy the general readership for which the book is obviously intended. There is one final observation which applies to a considerable number of the recent outpouring of books on the Indian and his relationship with the white man, including this volume. Despite Hoig's unquestioned sympathy for the

Cheyenne, in the end, they never quite come alive here. They remain two-dimensional figures that are acted upon by an expansionist population and the minions of the United States government. [Douglas D. Martin]

*Cherokee Sunset. A Nation Betrayed.* By Samuel Carter III. (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976. Pp. 318. \$9.95.) Despite a bibliography that includes several extraneous works and that totally ignores all recent literature on early nineteenth century Indian policy, and despite some of the most frustratingly vague and inadequate source citations this reviewer has seen outside of an undergraduate paper, Carter has nevertheless penned a skillfully-written, worthwhile contribution to the already large literature on the removal of the Cherokee Indians to Indian Territory in the 1830s. Both the strength and the weakness of *Cherokee Sunset* stem from Carter's effort to see the causes of removal and the process of removal itself through the eyes of the Cherokee. The attempt, while not unique, is welcome. The problem arises, of course, in that Cherokee observers were no more unbiased than their white counterparts. But at least in part one is inclined to affirm the author's comment in his Preface. "The Indian's role in American history has so often been presented by the white man from the white man's point of view that it is fair to present the Cherokee's side with whatever bias they are tempted to inject." [Douglas D. Martin]

One of the most refreshing historical developments of the last decade is the resurgence of interest in local, family, and community history. Several remarkably able booklets have been recently published on Baltimore communities. Barbara M. Steven's *Homeland: History and Heritage*, replete with maps and old photographs, presents a loving portrait of one affluent neighborhood. *Hampden-Woodberry*, a bicentennial project of the Hampden-Woodberry Community Council, is an equally pleasing brief sketch of the life and history of an old mill village located several miles southwest of Homeland. The *Hampden-Woodberry* booklet is enhanced by spectacular color photographs. While both works may appear intimidating to would-be local historians, they should inspire others to do similarly for their communities.

*Up From Independence: The Episcopal Church in Virginia.* Co-edited by Brewster S. Ford and Harold S. Sniffen. (Orange, Va.: The Interdiocesan Bicentennial Committee of the Virginias, 1976. Pp. iii, 125. \$1.50 plus .35 handling; available from The Diocese of Southern Virginia, 600 Talbot Hall Road, Norfolk, Virginia 23505). This inexpensive booklet was intended to provide lay readers with a solidly researched yet popularly written history of the Episcopal Church in the Old Dominion. Its four authors in four chapters (one on what is now West Virginia) provide careful accounts of the early history of the Church, keeping documentation to a minimum. The authors—Joseph F. Freeman III, George J. Cleaveland, David L. Holmes, and Eleanor M. Hamilton—have performed their task well. Though the booklet is not intended for scholars, its authors have written popular history which is obviously grounded in solid research.

*The History of Religion in America.* By Donald Craig Kerr. (Baltimore: Roland Park Presbyterian Church, 1976. Pp. 112.) The Reverend Kerr, pastor of Roland Park Presbyterian Church, preached a series of sermons on the American religious heritage, the last sermon (May 1, 1976) coinciding with the church's seventy-fifth anniversary and the nation's bicentennial. The twenty-seven chapters each represent one sermon, and consequently combine history, didacticism, and personal insight. Not intended to be a monograph in religious history, the book rather reflects one informed minister's perspective on selected aspects of our religious culture. It makes interesting reading,

and a novice in the field might very well go on from this volume to such a scholarly book as Sydney Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* (1977), whose bibliography will suggest the richness of the field.

*Old Maryland*. Compiled by Skip Whitson. (Albuquerque: Sun Publishing Co., P. O. Box 4383, Albuquerque 87107. Pp. 40. \$3.50 plus .50 postage and handling.) A booklet in the "Old/100 Years Ago" series, it reprints excerpts from other writers (Frank Mayer, Edward King, and John Fiske) whose work originally appeared in *Harper's* and *Scribner's* magazines in the 1870s and 1880s. Dozens of the old lithographs are included. Hardly a work of scholarship or reference, it should appeal to nostalgia buffs who have little access to libraries in which to read the originals. King's reprinted essay, "Baltimore: The Liverpool of America," is particularly interesting, and might lead readers on to LSU Press's reprint of all his southern essays from *Scribners*, *The Great South* (1972).

*Iron and Steel in America*. By W. David Lewis. (Greenville, Delaware: The Hagley Museum, 1976. Pp. 64. \$2.50 from Publications Department, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Wilmington, Delaware, 19807). This well-illustrated pamphlet is one of a series on industries being published by The Hagley Museum. After a brief discussion of the early development of and basic technological processes involved in the production of iron, the author cogently summarizes colonial ironmaking, explains the revolution in steelmaking and the greatly increased demand for steel in ante-bellum America, and then surveys the tremendous changes in consumption, technology, management, and organization that have occurred in the last century. The illustrations are not merely decorative; they materially aid the author in making clear to the nontechnically-trained reader the mechanics of iron and steelmaking. Old ironworks from the colonial past have long intrigued travelers, as have the huge modern facilities at such locations as Sparrows Point. Lewis's pamphlet is a welcome introduction to an industry that helped usher in the modern era.

*The John Dunlap Broadside: The First Printing of the Declaration of Independence*. By Frederick R. Goff. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976. Pp. 61. \$15.00 clothbound, \$7.00 paperback, from Information and Media Services Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540). This spectacular example of bibliographical detective work by the dean of American rare-book librarians, Frederick Goff, now honorary consultant in early printed books to the Library of Congress, definitively recounts the publishing history of the first printing of the Declaration of Independence. The result of detailed study of all twenty-one existing copies, this work reveals the hurried printing of the broadside in 1776; Dr. Goff has determined variant printings, discussed various papers used, shown how copies were folded even before the ink was dry, and so on. The original proof copy is identified and seventeen of the copies were minutely compared with one another on a Hinman collator, measured, photographed, and the watermarks studied by Beta-radiography. (The remaining four copies were later examined personally.) Dr. Goff's text summarizes his methodology and findings, and he includes useful tables and references. Following are carefully annotated photographs of all known copies, including the one owned by the Maryland Historical Society. All in all, a tour de force of bibliographic investigation, handsomely printed by the Library of Congress.

*The Decisive Blow Is Struck: A facsimile edition of The Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 and the First Maryland Constitution*. With an introduction by Edward C. Papenfuss and Gregory A. Stiverson. (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1977. Pp. [xii, 43].) February 5, 1777, was the two hundredth anniversary of state government in Maryland, for it was on that date in 1777

that the legislature first convened under the auspices of a written constitution. At the request of the present legislature, the Hall of Records prepared a facsimile of the Proceedings which culminated in the 1776 constitution. Editors Papenfuse and Stiverson in seven large pages have provided a remarkably complete background to the event celebrated, placing in historical context the achievement. Collectors of Marylandia as well as teachers and historians will treasure this bicentennial keepsake. A copy was provided free to all high school, college, and university libraries in the state, and it is available for purchase at the Hall of Records.

*New Wine in Old Skins: A Comparative View of Socio-Political Structures and Values Affecting the American Revolution.* Edited by Erich Angermann, Marie-Luise Frings, and Hermann Wellenreuther. (Stuttgart, Germany: Ernst Klett, 1976. Pp. 204.) This volume contains eight original essays presented at an international symposium held at the University of Cologne in February 1976 to commemorate the bicentennial of the American Revolution. All but one (by U.S. scholar James Hutson) project a distinctly European view, and that perspective makes for a most interesting collection. Among the contributors are such well-known scholars as Dirk Hoerder and Horst Dippel, and Barbara Karsky, a Baltimorean now teaching American history and civilization as Maître Assistant at the University of Paris VII.

*The American Revolution: The Home Front.* Vol. XV, West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences. (Carrollton, Ga.: West Georgia College, 1976. Pp. vii, 106. \$3.00.) There have been great interpretative shifts in the study of the American Revolution, and currently scholars are investigating the tension between an ideological approach (Bailyn *et al.*) and a social/economic approach (Jensen *et al.*). Both camps include significant historians who refuse to be easily labeled, but such a dichotomization is probably still most descriptive. The essays in this publication seek to analyze the domestic scene during the revolutionary era, probing beneath the "consensus" views of the 1950s and seeking new answers to the kinds of questions Carl Becker asked more than a half century ago. The resulting volume is a useful addition to the literature.

*The Mayflower Destiny.* By Cyril Leek Marshall. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975. Pp. 191. \$9.95.) Mr. Marshall, on the original team that developed the replica Pilgrim village called *Plimoth Plantation*, here provides a popularly written account of the material aspects of Pilgrim life and culture. He discusses how they built their homes, grew their food, prepared their meals, practiced medicine, dressed themselves, learned from and traded with the Indians, made furniture, soap, beer, etc. Hundreds of photographs and line drawings illustrate the artifacts and processes described. A book of rather wide appeal. There is a brief bibliography and index.

*Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Community.* By Dean R. Esslinger. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975. Pp. xii, 156. \$9.95.) Dr. Esslinger's book is a good example of the "new" urban history pioneered by Stephan Thernstrom. Applying sophisticated computed-aided quantitative techniques, and utilizing the manuscript federal censuses as well as more traditional "literary" sources, Esslinger has produced a readable, nontechnical analysis of geographic mobility, residential patterns, occupational mobility, and immigrant leadership in South Bend, Indiana, from 1850 to 1880. The topic is obviously not Maryland, but the approach could easily be applied to Maryland cities. For general readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* who want a lucid introduction to historical quantification, *Immigrants and the City* should be a perfect text. Specialists will appreciate the skill and subtlety with which Esslinger handles his data and presents his analysis.

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